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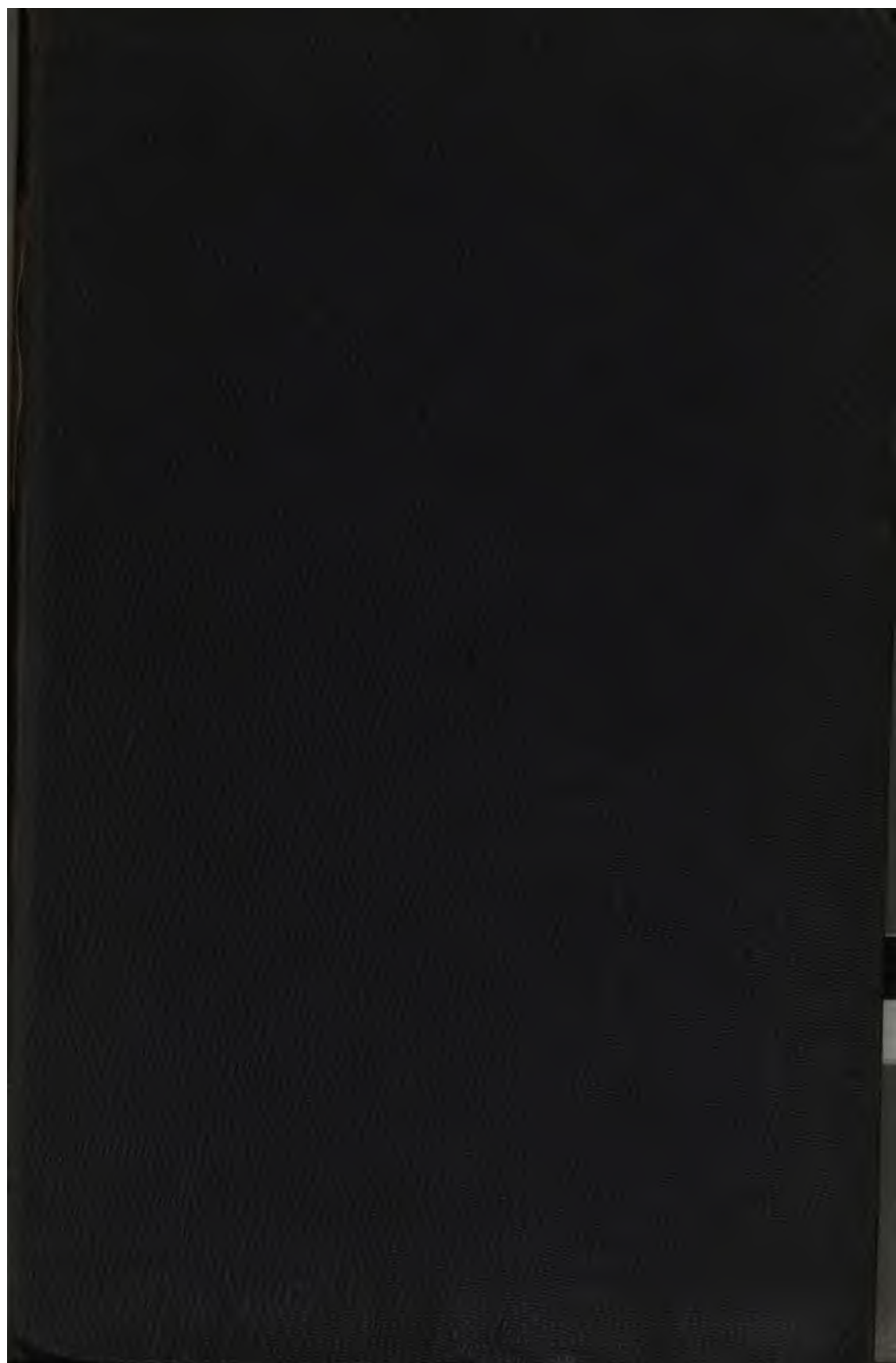
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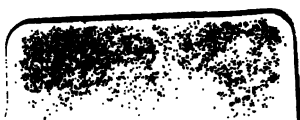
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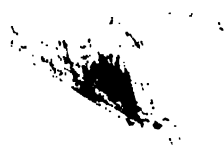
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COLLEGIATE AND PROFESSORIAL
TEACHING AND DISCIPLINE,

IN ANSWER TO

PROFESSOR VAUGHAN'S STRICTURES,

CHIEFLY AS TO THE CHARGES AGAINST THE
COLLEGES OF FRANCE AND GERMANY.



BY THE

REV. E. B. PUSEY, D.D.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF HEBREW, AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH.

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COLLEGIATE AND PROFESSORIAL LECTURES AND DISCIPLINE, &c.

IN the present crisis, it seems to be of importance to remove any wrong impressions, which may influence the minds or decisions of those who have the determination of vital questions affecting our institutions. Uninteresting then as it is, in itself, to remove strictures on the statements or arguments of an individual, yet when those strictures are put forward, to help on immediate and practical measures, what is in itself irksome becomes a necessary duty.

Professor Vaughan says of my evidence that "the following propositions seem to be laid down :

" The endowment of Professors and their erection into importance is unadvisable, because,

" 1st. Professorial lectures do not communicate knowledge well.

" 2ndly. Professorial lectures do not give a discipline to the faculties.

" 3rdly. Professors do not aid the advancement of truth.

" 4thly. Theological Professors are the causes of heresy and scepticism.

“5thly. Professors are the causes of immorality in the Universities to which they are attached.”

In this brief summary every proposition is partially, some are wholly, mis-stated.

1. “The endowment of Professors and their erection into importance is unadvisable.”

Professor Vaughan says still more strongly in the same page, “The Treatise, (for such is the Evidence alluded to) against *Professors* embraces several distinct propositions, all tending to shew that their influence and their *existence* in the University are to be deprecated.”

Against the adequate endowment of Professorships which are at present ill-endowed, or the creation of new Professorships which may be required, I have never said one syllable.

The contrast which I drew, throughout my Evidence, was between the Collegiate and Professorial *systems*. It was not between Tutors and Professors, but between two modes of communicating knowledge and instructing the mind. This I explained in the very outset of my Evidence; and, having laid this down clearly and explicitly, I did not expect (whatever other objections might be raised) that this would be misunderstood. By Professorial teaching, I explained that I meant “that in which the Professor is himself, in fact, the living book, and imparts knowledge, original and instructive, but still wholly from without, to the mind of his pupil*.”

* Evidence, p. 2.

By the Collegiate system, apart from its moral influence and discipline, I explained that I meant "that by which the mind of the young man is brought into direct contact with the mind of his instructor—intellectually, by the catechetical form of imparting knowledge, wherein the mind of the young man, having been previously employed upon some solid text-book, has its thoughts corrected, expanded, developed, enlarged by one of maturer mind and thought, who also brings to bear on the subject, knowledge and reflection which the pupil cannot be presupposed to have."

I explained further on what grounds the Theological Professors, since the time of Bp. Lloyd, at least, had "chiefly employed themselves in catechetical lectures, whether the subject has been doctrinal Theology, the interpretation of Holy Scripture, or Ecclesiastical History^b."

The Theological Professors then have mostly been, thus far, acting upon the principle of College Tutors. They have, for the most part, imparted knowledge and instructed in the same way. On the other hand, with regard to the Professors, apart from the way in which they should impart their knowledge or instruct, I said, "it is, of course, good that there should be offices of leisure for Theological *and other learning*." "But," I added, "this is not best promoted by *the oral delivery of lectures*, which is set forth as the office of the Professor^c."

This *was* set forth as the office of the Professors

^b Evidence, p. 7.

^c Ibid., p. 11.

by the Commissioners themselves. They considered, and contrasted the Tutorial and Professorial systems. On the authority of Mr. Bethell and Mr. Senior, they allowed the benefit of Tutorial instruction, in the study of the law and of Political Economy. They proposed that *elementary* instruction should be given in this way, and that if College Tutors decline this task, it might be executed by University Lecturers^d." On the other hand, they assume every where, that the *Professor's* mode of instruction would be through "lectures, orally delivered^e." "Eloquence^f" is one of the qualifications of a Professor. By the ardour with which he is inspired for his subject, he is to excite a corresponding fervour in his hearers, and *their* ardour is to react upon him. It is needless to adduce evidence for what is undoubted. If the Professors were to teach catechetically, it would be (as far as relates to intellectual instruction) but a question of words. They would be so far "Tutors^g" under another name.

What I *did* object to, was, not the endowment or the importance, but the *dominance* of Professors and Professorial teaching. The plan of the Commissioners, (which has, I fear, been only inverted in some recent popular remarks^h upon it) manifestly was, to erect a great extra-collegiate system, "an independent body" of University students, who should

^d Report, p. 95.

^e Ibid., p. 96.

^f Ibid., p. 93-95.

^g Professor Vaughan himself speaks of his predecessor, Dr. Cramer, as "lecturing more after the manner of Tutors in the University." Evidence, p. 275.

^h Suggestions with regard to certain proposed alterations in Oxford, by R. Palmer, Esq.

“ obtain instruction from the eminent men,” hereafter “ to become Professors in Oxfordⁱ,” dependent upon them, and providing employment for them^j. The initiative body, I said, “ is to be transferred from the Hebdomadal Board to a body of which the decided majority is Professorial.” To this body, (the majority of which was mediately or immediately to receive its appointment from the Prime Minister^k) was to be committed thea ppoint-

ⁱ Report, p. 45.

^j “The services of the Professors and Lecturers will be doubly required for those University Students who will not have the same advantages of College Tuition as the present system affords ; whilst, on the other hand, the introduction of a new class of Students desirous of instruction in the Elements of Jurisprudence, and of Medicine, and in Physical Science generally, will furnish audiences which many of the Professors cannot now command.” (Report, p. 99.)

^k Professor Vaughan says, “ I am reminded that Dr. Pusey is mistaken in attributing to the recommendations of the Commissioners that they would have the effect of adding sixteen Professorships (see p. 253) [§ 253] to the appointments now made by the Crown. If carried out, they would *create* three (or contingently four) in addition to the present Royal appointments,” (p. 24, note.) The ground of my statement was the 42nd recommendation of Her Majesty’s Commissioners, “that the three lectureships founded by Fox at Corpus Christi should be restored and endowed with revenues from the College funds, sufficient to maintain two Professors ; that at Magdalen, where three similar Lectureships were founded by Waynflete, six should be created and endowed for the maintenance of six Professors ; that at Merton two, and at All Souls four or more, similar endowments should be made ; to which might be added, if necessary, one at New College, and one at Queen’s.” In p. 105 it was said, “The appointments to *new* Professorships should, we think, be vested in the Crown.” p. 14, “The Professorships *and* Public Lecturers ought to be considerably increased in number,” [not the Lecturers but the Professors also.] Since then their number was to be considerably increased ; and no other provision was made for that increase ; I concluded that the fourteen Professors, or more, who were to be endowed out of the College revenues, were to be new Professors, and, as such, in the nomination of the Crown. The very word “created” was used of the six Professors to be maintained by Magdalen.

ment of other Professors ; the Professors, so appointed, were to have the sole supervision of the University studies. "The whole tendency of the Report," I said, "is to represent the Professorial¹ as the higher instruction, at the expense of the Collegiate, and especially that form of Professorial teaching, which makes the Pupil most dependent upon the Professor."

If all this could naturally be understood under Professor Vaughan's words, "The endowment of Professors and their *erection into importance*," he would have represented my meaning rightly. To me "importance" seems a weak word for "supremacy." It was, of course, open to any one, to shew, if they could, that I was mistaken as to the tendency of the Report. But Professor Vaughan must have read my Evidence with very prejudiced eyes so to misstate it ; misstatement is more grievous when attended with sarcasm^m.

The 1st proposition attributed to me, is, *Professorial Lectures do not communicate knowledge well*.

In speaking of "Professorial lectures," I expressly excepted (what Professor Vaughan says I "*seem to except*,") the Physical sciences. I said ; "To prevent misunderstanding, I am speaking of those sciences which involve continued reasoning, or study, as languagesⁿ."

The subjects to which my remarks applied, I myself stated. They were "Theology, Metaphysics,

¹ Evid., p. 158.

^m Prof. Vaughan, p. 76.

ⁿ Evidence, p. 2.

Morals, Logic, History, Jurisprudence, Philology, Rhetoric, Grammar, Mathematics°."

"Information" is, of course, an essential part of all education, since it means the knowledge of the subject-matter. Yet to communicate information is, in itself, so subordinate a part of education, that I did not consider it by itself. My proposition however would be, "knowledge, orally conveyed to the mind, can neither be imparted so solidly, received so accurately, remembered so distinctly, appreciated so carefully, nor digested so thoroughly, as that contained in a book."

∴ It cannot be "imparted so solidly;" for a lecture, at best, must be a text without notes. There is scarcely a subject of human knowledge, upon which, in modern times at least, such a division of the subject-matter is not, and must not be, adopted. A text must, more or less, be condensed, continuous, broad; it must contain principles, rather than details. Whether the matter be history, or exposition of Holy Scripture, or law, or well-nigh any other subject, there must be the distinction between what is of primary or of subordinate moment, the main substance or illustration, direct or incidental, assertions or arguments, and facts whereon they rest. To attempt to combine all these in one continuous delivery would be confusing, and out of harmony and proportion. The consent of mankind attests the necessity of the distinction. It enables the writer e.g. to exhibit a clear picture in history,

• Ibid., p. 7.

and yet not to neglect minute details ; to condense his reasoning, and yet not to lose bye-thoughts which illustrate it ; to lay down first principles broadly, and at the same time to justify or develop them. The commentaries upon all great text-books, whether of theology or law or medicine, imply the same. The mention of Aristotle, the Sentences, Justinian, would alike bring to mind the value of the distinction. To the reader, the comparison of the text with the illustration or expansion or justification of it, becomes a continual discipline of the intellect and an exercise of judgment, while it also aids to produce a healthy independence of the mind, strengthens its activity, calls forth its inventiveness, teaches it to draw corollaries or sound deductions, or to grasp and harmonize facts.

To take history alone,—apart from those notes in which there occur licentiousness, sneers, or infidelity, any reader of Gibbon will have found the comparison of his text and notes far more instructive than his text alone : Gieseler, however one-sided, conceived the idea of a concise text of history, with a well-combined body of original matter to support it : Tillemont and Natalis Alexander have cast their additional matter into dissertations. A delivered lecture on history, or its text, if printed alone, leaves the ordinary reader entirely dependent upon the lecturer or the relater. I believe, myself, that the oral teacher should be the commentator, not the text-book ; and that no ingenuity can combine into one the materials, which the pupil ought to be put in

possession of, so as to sacrifice neither fulness nor clearness, largeness nor needful detail.

ii. It is self-evident that information received in a fleeting way by the ear cannot be "received so accurately." Both in older and modern times there have been the two modes of lecturing,—“dictation,” (by which, in fact, the lecture was at once turned into a book,) and fluent delivery. Dictation sacrificed all exercise of mind; fluent delivery forfeited accuracy. Not only have individual Professors varied in their choice of these two modes of lecturing, but statutes have forbidden or enjoined the “dictation°.”

* Prof. Tholuck (*Academ. Leben d. 17 Jahrh.* p. 88—91,) says, “the statutes of Bologna expressly forbid the dictating of explanations,” (*Savigny, Gesch. d. Rom. Rechts* iii. 252), and the Cologne statutes of 1392, “*Si in lecturis suis schedulis memorialibus uti contingat, discrete hoc fiat et honeste.*” (*Bianco Gesch. d. Univ. Köln*, p. 465.) [But this relates to the lecturer using notes or written lectures, not to the mode of his delivery]. “The Erfurt statutes expressly forbid the Professor ‘to direct any thing to be written down, dictating from his paper to the pen;’ (*ex carta ad pennam dictando*), ‘but let him orally, either wholly by memory or with notes made at home aiding his memory, confirm, in continuous discourse, the truth of the thesis to be read out.’ Nevertheless, at all Universities, Catholic and Protestant, dictation was widely spread. The Jesuits are commonly said to have introduced dictation, and certainly the *ratio studiorum societatis Jesu* (*Rom.* 1606, p. 33), expressly requires ‘a dictation and repetition of sentences, sentence by sentence.’ [On Padua see p. 13]. At Paris, in the 16th century, the taking-down was usual. Among the MSS. of J. Andrea, is a Commentary on the Epistles, *ad calamum dictati*. The Tübingen statutes A. 1601, say ‘let all the lectures of the Theological Professors be taken down in writing.’ In the Wittenberg Visitation-Decree, 1587, it is said expressly of the Philosophical Professors, ‘They cannot finish their lectures in a fixed time, because, if they would retain their hearers, they must dictate, which accordingly is most usual in the University.’ Eber’s Exegetical lecture at Wittenberg, 1561, is announced, ‘he will dictate an explanation,’ &c. From this time, dictation was the rule; free delivery, the exception only.” (In Marburg Schuppe gives an instance of a rhetoric lecture thus taken down, which was taken word for word from a printed book). “In Rostock, II.

These very variations shew that each plan had advantages which the other forfeited. A lecture *cannot*, in the nature of the thing, be heard repeatedly. Unless a Professor had great dearth of lectures, a student would scarcely hear the same course twice; in no case could he hear it oftener^p. This (as I said) involves the greater loss, the more valuable the lecture. Who ever was interested by anything which he heard delivered, and did not wish to have it before his eyes? "Will it be printed?" is the very first question after hearing a sermon or lecture which has vividly impressed the minds of the hearers.

And so the students mostly had their own way. In Universities where dictation was forbidden, the

Becker, 1665, dictates 'a metaphysical lecture for the pen,' (Colleg. metaphysicum in calamum); Cotabus, 1672, an 'explanation of mathematical terms;' Schomer, 1682, 'his lectures or controversies.'—At Jena, Cundisius gives his opinion, 1644, 'To deliver all by memory is not edifying; therefore I dictate and use digression too.' 1669 the Visitors report (p. 256): 'at this University, it has come in, that the students *will* have dictations, and when they have not, stay away from the lectures.' Prof. Krauss, on the contrary, 1664, declares that he has 4 hearers, when he dictates; since he reads by memory, he has 20—30. 1649 it is ordered, 'In order to accustom youth to diligent hearing, the lectures should be short and nervously delivered, and the youth not overlaid with too much writing.' Yet the theological faculty writes back, 'The mode of teaching cannot be limited by a common statute; regard must be had to the subject-matter and the hearers. These are partly graduates, partly novices, &c.' Lastly, in the statutes of 1653, it is ordered, 'As oral discourse alone suffices not, so neither is the end attained, when persons *will* dictate into the pen whole commentaries, which soon after come into print; rather the middle-way is to be taken.'

^p Prof. Vaughan says, p. 32: "The book read once, or twice, or thrice, should be compared to the lecture heard once, twice, or thrice." But no lecture can be "heard thrice;" most, not even twice. And the larger or longer the attendance upon the lectures, the more varied must they become.

students chose to have their lectures dictated to them, or they would have none. They wanted the matter and substance of the lectures for their examinations; they knew, of course, that they could have the substance most accurately, if they took it down through slow dictation. They chose wisely for their end, and they had their choice. Books were scarce^a, and they wanted the book. It is an amusing illustration of the extent and mechanical nature of the process, that "in Padua, in the 16th century, dictating became so common, that the scholars sent their famuli to take down the lectures." They had the book, in fact, transcribed for them, and studied it at home, without the trouble of transcribing it. In 1825—7, I heard lectures of

^a Tholuck gives as an instance, that "in the rigidly Lutheran Saxony, many parochial ministers used the commentaries of the Berne reformed writer Aretius, for want of any other compendium." p. 91. In the prohibition at Ingolstadt to the lecturers on canon and civil law, A. 1524, to use dictation, the scarcity of books is mentioned as an excuse for the previous practice. "We ordain, besides, that the custom of our forefathers be abolished who consumed much time in dictating their expositions 'to the pen,' (yet actuated perhaps by a good reason, on account of the penury of books.) We forbid any of the public professors hereafter to attempt any thing of this sort, or to pronounce any thing 'for the pen.' But he shall labour to deliver every thing faithfully, and if he should quote any writings of the doctors, he shall shew where they occur." Ann. Ingoldst. iv. 246. Meiners quotes from Fabronius, (ii. 4), "It cannot be denied, that they were wont sometimes to dictate. But that was especially the custom, before the art of printing was discovered, when youth learnt by writing down." Meiners speaks of the custom of dictation as continuing in "many Catholic Universities," but specifies only the case of Würzburg, on the authority of Böniche, ii. 122, 3. At Paris, A. 1355, the faculty of Arts forbade the "dictating to the pen." (Bul. iv. 948.) Card. d'Estouteville, A. 1452, suspended the statute, provided it were done conscientiously. (Ib. v. 572.)

^r Savigny, *Gesch. d. Rom.* iii. 298, quoted by Tholuck, p. 89.

several Theological Professors in Germany ; they were all purposely delivered so slowly, that even a foreigner could take them down.

Prof. Vaughan's correspondent^r speaks of the "magical effect of Schelling and Steffens." I have leave to insert the statement of an intellectual layman, who, at a mature age, in 1834, heard Schelling and Neander, and Lachman. "Their delivery was so slow in order not to outrun the pens of the students, as to be tedious and almost repulsive. What would be the effect of a speech of Macaulay's, if, instead of short-hand writers and an audience, it were addressed to four hundred clerks leaning over reams of foolscap? Yet such were the lecture-rooms of Schelling and Neander ; Lachman's likewise, but with a slender audience. I also knew and heard Steffens. He was an eloquent man, a Norwegian, not unlike Lord Denman. He really *spoke*, and there was no attempt at transcription. But when he entered on some very mild and legitimate criticism upon Kant, he was twice stopped by the disapprobation of his undergraduate flock. Altogether the English are mistaken about German lectures, which are often *ex necessitate rei*, heavy affairs. The other day a most intelligent young German, after hearing a lecture at the Royal Institution, told me that the English alone understood the art of giving interesting lectures. But then our lectures are for the rational amusement of all ages, not for the instruction of students. I speak not of physical lec-

^r p. 104.

tures requiring demonstration by specimens or experiments, which lectures are indispensable and most useful. But declamatory lectures on mental subjects seem to me dangerous food for the mind, and their contents very unsatisfactory. Professor Smythe was a good Professor of History at Cambridge: his lectures are now published. Let any one compare his treatment of a period of English History with Macaulay's or Lord Mahon's, and he will easily make up his mind on the question."

If lectures are only popular and fluent, and if much does not rest upon single words or sentences, a general impression of a lecture may be gained without difficulty. But if there are minute statements, or close reasoning, or condensed thought, however clear may be the style or delivery, any hearer, not gifted with an extraordinary memory, will retain but a fraction of the lecture. His memory would probably fail him most, where he most wished to remember^a. He would probably carry off some general principle, or some fact, or an outline, without the shading which imparts to it its beauty or harmony. To the average mind very much would doubtless be confused, which yet, if set before the eyes as a book, would have become clear to it.

^a To meet this difficulty, Hegel employed a favourite pupil to rehearse his lectures over in his presence. I understood that he often had occasion to correct him, as not having caught his meaning. I am informed by one whose authority would be unquestioned that in Niebuhr's lectures on Ancient Ethnography and Geography, printed from his lectures, there are mistakes which Niebuhr could not have made.

iii. This is, in part, what I mean by saying that it cannot be "appreciated so carefully." Oral delivery, as compared to the study of a book, wastes time in two opposite ways. What is easy, is delivered too slowly ; what is difficult, too fast. A lecturer may pause upon some sentence which he wishes to impress on his hearers ; or he may deliver somewhat more rapidly what is necessary to be said but not to be dwelt upon. But in both ways he is limited. The words must be enunciated one after the other ; there is no pause ; no looking back ; no recovering what was not grasped at first. It is gone. In the more difficult parts, the perception remains what it was, indistinct. No one who values time or knowledge, would ever turn the book back into a lecture by having a printed book read aloud to him. This is done sometimes for social ends ; but whoever would *study* a book, knows that he must study it for himself. In this way too, what passes through the ear makes less impression than what is subjected to "the faithful eye." One who should even *read* a book straight through without pausing, would, unless he had a most retentive memory, remember, at the end, next to nothing of what he had read. What he did remember would be indistinct and undefined. No one would so read any book but a novel. Nay, if the novel, like Sir Walter Scott's, had any more vivid touches of human nature, any more solid reflection, any beautiful picture of our beautiful world, any flash of imagination, any historical know-

ledge, the reader would either pause or go back to dwell upon it. Cursory reading or hearing does not sink. The river flows away, and sinks not in ; it fertilizes, like the Nile, where it rests. The office of delivery is toward the feelings rather than the intellect. The living being, if in earnest, has a power of persuasion over and above his book, on the very ground that he is *seen* to be impressed with what he says : “ Si vis me flere, dolendum est Primum ipsi tibi.” But, for *instruction*, a printed sermon of St. Augustine or Bourdaloue, conveys much more than we could have appreciated or understood, could we have heard them. Burke’s speeches are even thought to have contained, for *speeches*, too much matter and reflection. They are said to have become wearisome, because people did not wish to *hear* an essay. The thoughtful orator is said to have become “the dinner-bell” of the House of Commons. But let any one imagine Aristotle’s Ethics, or even his Rhetoric (which, although exoteric and easy in detail, is very full of thought,) or Plato’s Republic, or Butler’s Analogy, or the speech of Pericles, or an oration of Demosthenes*, or a portion of Tacitus in which each word contains a thought, read to him, instead of having it before his eyes, to pause, reflect on, go over again and again when he needed, and he will

* Pericles and Demosthenes *spoke*, of course, their orations. For their very object was persuasiveness, to produce a *practical* effect on the feelings and minds of their hearers. We *read* them for an *intellectual* object. It is for this *intellectual* object alone that I contrast hearing and reading.

feel the difference, as to *information*, between a lecture which floats by and ceases, and a book to which he can have recourse, when he will. In the studied book, time is economised in the easier parts, to be employed with usury on the harder. Still more in the second, or third, or tenth reading, the mind may concentrate itself on some harder passage, and derive something from it, which it did not gain before, while the easier portions are passed over, being already familiar and understood.

iv. It must be self-evident again, that knowledge orally delivered cannot be “remembered so distinctly.” This is a disadvantage, over and above the inferior accuracy in the first reception. Accurate perception at the time of delivery, is quite distinct from accurate retention of what has once been accurately received. Many a man may understand clearly each statement, as it is presented to him, who yet cannot give any distinct account to himself of the whole when the hour is past[†]. The rapid exercise of the repeated acts of perception, interfere with the simultaneous exercise of the memory. The whole powers are taxed for the first employment of receiving it. There is no time to fix in the mind what one has received. One cannot stow away what one receives, as into a drawer, that it should lie

[†] I recollect a B.A. in 1823, who, although he succeeded in mastering, sentence by sentence, the difficult Bampton Lectures delivered by Dr. Goddard, could not, when he came out of St. Mary's, give any intelligible account of them. The continual tension of mind in taking in each sentence as it was delivered, interfered with the memory.

there safe, because one has once received it. It has been thought to imply an unusual strength of memory, when one has been able to give, nearly word for word, three or four pages of a book which had been attentively read. Let any one of average ability *hear* once read to him the more abstract parts of Dr. Whewell's thoughtful book "On the Principles of English University Education," or his "Thoughts on the Study of Mathematics," or any other work in which the words are carefully chosen; or if he have not read it very often before, let him have read to him Hooker's chapters on the connection of the doctrine of the Incarnation with the Sacraments; or again, some thirty pages of Pascal's Thoughts, or of Hamann, and when he has heard them, let him sit down and re-produce what he can, and then let him compare with the original, the residuum which he retains. He will, then, need no argument to convince him of the superiority, which, for the mere purpose of information, the written book possesses over the delivered lecture. For not a mere floating impression, not a general perception *about* a subject, but what a man can definitely reproduce and explain clearly to one unfamiliar with it^u, is the real knowledge which abides with him.

v. Yet therewith it follows, that the knowledge

^u A thoughtful Tutor of Christ Church, when some of us, in answering his questions on the Ethics, were using Aristotle's terminology, used to say to us, "Explain it to me, as if you were explaining it to your sister." We felt the force of the test, that we had not yet really made our own, what we could not at once reproduce in clear and plain language.

conveyed by the book, can be "digested more thoroughly," than that obtained from a delivered lecture. Whoever has studied any very thoughtful book will see how much depends upon the very words. We feel this as to any good poetry. If we have forgotten a word, another will not do as well. The original word was part of the original conception. A fresh word is patchwork, but not "purpureus pannus." After a delivered lecture, the student of the most retentive memory, has not the lecture itself to digest, but his own reminiscences. But, in whatever proportion these reminiscences are less full, or precise, or pregnant than the original, he has an inferior copy to study or reflect upon, instead of the original. Loss of words ought to be the loss of ideas. If it is not so, the words were not well chosen at the first.

But this is not all, even as to information. In the Tutorial or Catechetical system, the aid of the Teacher begins, where, in the Professorial system of delivered lectures, it ends. The Professor's lecture is the book orally delivered. The Tutor expands, explains, applies, develops, illustrates, his text-book. Professor Vaughan says of his predecessor, "Dr. Cramer" appears to have lectured more frequently [than Dr. Arnold^v] and more after the manner of the Tutors in the University, by the study of some text-book written in Latin, or a foreign lan-

^v Evidence, p. 275.

^w "Dr. Arnold gave one course of eight written lectures, and announced his intention of giving eight written lectures annually." Ibid.

guage, such as Sleidan, Philip de Commines, Davila, Guicciardini. He was attended by a class to whom he explained and commented."

Now even if we could expect (which, of course, we cannot) that each successive Professor of Modern History should be equal to great historians of the past, that he should be a Sismondi, Philip de Commines, Davila, or Guicciardini, his whole office towards the minds of his pupils, if he were to instruct them catechetically, would lie *beyond* the office of the mere Lecturer. The delivered lecture of the one is but the text-book of the other.

Dr. Arnold proposed to himself to "give^{*} eight lectures every year, chiefly on the Internal History of England, like Guizot on French History." However full of thought these lectures might have been, they would, in the end, only have been a *book*, like Guizot. I cannot doubt that a student would be employed far more beneficially to himself, in studying such a text-book for himself, and then receiving the aid of the lecturer, in those ways in which one, fully master of his subject, could readily give it, than by having the mere book. In this way, the lecturer becomes the annotator of his own text, and combines those two offices, which I believe that a delivered lecture cannot unite. Yet of all the mental[†] sciences, history, as being the most popular, is probably that, which is most

^{*} Evidence, p. 271.

[†] I have used the word 'mental' in a general sense as opposed to physical.

susceptible of being communicated, in some degree, in delivered lectures.

Let any one but picture to himself Davila, Guicciardini, or Sismondi, lecturing catechetically upon their own books, and he cannot doubt, I think, that a pupil would gain far more from the combination of such a lecture with the previous study of the book, than he could from hearing the history read to him. The very questions of an intelligent pupil are a benefit not to himself only, but to the whole class. They just concentrate in words what other pupils need, but cannot, at the moment, embody; they fix the lecturer's attention on the points which he had not sufficiently explained, or perhaps presupposed as known. A good question from a sensible student calls out the minds of a whole class. Their minds are set at work, considering how it is to be answered; it interests them the more as coming from one under the same circumstances as themselves. It compels definiteness on the part of the teacher; and the class receives the information the more beneficially, because their minds have been set in activity by the question. Let me again say, "I do *not* contrast the delivered lecture simply with a book." I think it indeed very inferior for every purpose of information or instruction to the book, even by itself. The "thoroughly fine lecture" is one of many; all of which must be heard. The thoroughly fine book is one of many which are forgotten, while this one is always at hand. As far as relates to mental sciences, if *delivered* lectures

were all to be gained at an University, I doubt not that it would be far better for students (as is allowed at Dublin) to study at their parents' house. If it can be shewn that the delivered lecture is more than a book, read out or spoken,—well. It is not rhetoric, or eloquence, or delivery, which will make it otherwise. Whatever be the subject upon which eloquence or impressiveness is employed, *persuasion*, not *instruction*, is its object. The object of *delivery* is to work upon the feelings, impulses; to induce people to act, or to refrain from acting; to win them to some definite result. The object of “instruction” is to form the mind, to develope its powers, to strengthen it where it is weak, to aid it to reason or to think aright, to correct its false impressions, to enlarge its partial perceptions, to give precision, comprehensiveness, clearness to the student's views. Let any set the delivered lecture as high as he will, the catechetical lecture, in which the Professor or Tutor applies, adapts, explains, expands, that lecture or book, to the mind of the student, *must* be something beyond it. If the value of the lecture be set at 100, the catechetical lecture is still (to use such notation) $100 + x$; if at 1000, the catechetical lecture is $1000 + x$; i. e., it has, beyond the value of the lecture, whatever can be added by the individual mind of the Professor to the mind of the student. The more powerful the mind of the Professor, the greater will be the value of this accession.

I had objected to the very large Classes contem-

plated by the Commissioners, that “a* large class must necessarily comprise minds of very unequal powers, cultivation, apprehension, quickness, memory, knowledge. If this gifted Professor adapt himself to the higher, he will be unintelligible to the lower capacities; if he adapt himself to the lower, he must needs spend more or less time upon points, on which to the higher, it would be needless to dwell.”

Professor Vaughan partly retorts, “What of the book?” partly he denies that the objection lies either to the delivered lecture, or to the book.

I answer; 1, the objection lies much less to a book, as an instrument of instruction, than to delivered lectures; 2, the real point of comparison lies not between the Professor’s lecture and the book, but between the book (i.e. the lecture) delivered, and the book commented upon; 3, large classes *are* undesirable; but they belong naturally to the Professorial, not to the Tutorial teaching.

1. Every teacher, whether he be teaching orally or in writing, has, of course, to decide whom he proposes to teach. Mr. Vaughan says, “In a thoroughly fine lecture, as in a thoroughly fine book, though all is only for the highest, there is much for the many, and somewhat for the least. The very best can appreciate all.” Yes, but they cannot *need* all. Unless the whole subject of the lecture is a terra incognita to all alike (as when many years ago the Professor of Sanscrit lectured upon the connection

* Evidence, p. 16.

of that language with others), either there must, in any lecture, be much which the better-informed know already, or much must be omitted, which the less-informed need to be taught.

Students have different degrees of knowledge, as well as of capacity. But to impart knowledge is a main object of *delivered* lectures. Yet the knowledge which would have to be imparted to the average of men, will be superfluous to the better-informed. If the better-informed only are consulted, the rest will have a superstructure without a foundation. Much more will this be the case, in sciences more abstract than history. And yet, a student may more readily deceive himself, as to the amount of his real knowledge, in delivered lectures, than in catechetical. If students *use* "tumid verbiage of metaphysical or philosophical terms," which they do not understand, much more readily may they err in thinking that they understand them, when they only listen to them. It was the complaint of Chancellor Niemeyer, "The ^b students float with the stream which carries them away to prælections, the very name of which is frequently beyond their comprehension, and a youth of shallow parts and uncultivated understanding finds himself listening to subjects which the wisest of his companions is scarcely competent to digest."

But "what of the book?" The objection in many ways lies in a much less degree to the book. 1. As to the book itself. Books are much more manifold

^a Rep., p. 95.

^b Quoted Evidence, p. 11.

than Professors in any given time at any given University ; and while each author " writes the best he can," books are adapted in much greater variety to the different capacities of their readers, or their different degrees of knowledge. Then, it is much easier, in a book, to throw any more abstract knowledge into some form which shall not perplex the less-informed reader. De Sacy's Arabic Grammar e. g., although by far the fullest and the most learned, is yet well adapted for the beginner. 2. So also as to the student, whether he be more or less advanced. The more advanced student can readily glance over what he already knows, (as in reading we all habitually do,) and so need lose but little time in finding what he really wants. In *hearing* a lecture or a book, he must hear alike, and with equal expenditure of time, what he knows, and what he does not know. The less advanced student can, on the other hand, understand more thoroughly and remember more accurately what lies before him, so that he can consider and re-consider or re-re-consider it for the third or the tenth time in the book.

2. In the Catechetical system, as I said, the Teacher's work commences, where, in the system of delivered lectures, it ends. The question is not as to the goodness of any Professor's work, but as to the best mode whereby he, or any other, may communicate knowledge and instruct the young. Let his delivered lecture be as good as any work which has stood the test of centuries, Aristotle's Ethics, or Plato's Republic, or any the best which has been

written on any other subject, still it is virtually a book, just as much as they. It seems a sort of superstition to insist that it should be "delivered," when the student might have the very same words, at a far cheaper rate, at home. If the delivered lecture were all, the student had far better read the same lecture, when printed, in his parent's house.

The system of "delivered" lectures, so far from being an advance on the Tutorial system, is really retrograde. Such lectures may be necessary at times, in order to awaken interest in a forgotten or neglected subject. Like specimens of the produce or of the minerals of an unknown land, they may serve to excite the young to seek for treasures which, not knowing of, they disregard. But they cannot supply the student's own personal diligence or research, which it is their very object to arouse. They can never be the staple of instruction.

3. The Catechetical system, in itself, involves, ordinarily, smaller classes. In delivered lectures, there is no limit, except the size of the theatre, or the compass of the speaker's voice. If knowledge could thus be solidly imparted, it might be imparted as easily to 300 as to 30. It seems waste, not to have large audiences, because the same exertion can produce the same effect, whatever be the number of the hearers. But the Catechetical system implies individual knowledge of the learners, individual adaptation of the Teacher to *them*, their intellectual wants, capacities, strength, weak-

ness. It pours carefully into each several bottle the good wine of Divine knowledge, or of human whose end is God. That more ambitious plan, which aims to fill so many "narrow-necked bottles" at once, has a larger show, yet wastes very much, and conveys to each but very little. In the Catechetical system, a large class is a defect, so soon as its size precludes, or interferes with, this individual teaching. In the Professorial or delivered lectures, the Commissioners put it forward as an excellence. Only, Almighty God never prospers these compendious, labour-saving, ways with the human mind. He acts individually with us, and individually must we form, whomsoever we would really form, for His service in the Ecclesiastical or Civil Polity.

II. The second Proposition attributed to me is ; "*Professorial lectures do not give a discipline to the faculties.*" Mine, if I had drawn one out, would have been ; "Any discipline which Professorial, i. e. delivered, lectures may give to the faculties *is beyond measure inferior*, to the complex discipline involved in Catechetical instruction."

I said, "The mind is simply a recipient. It digests at most, at some subsequent time (if it ever does) what it then receives. For the time its faculties are mainly employed in grasping and remembering what is imparted to it." "The process is, in a very inferior degree, the same as in mastering a text-book." Plainly, to grasp and master thoughts, presented to the mind, is *an* intellectual discipline. To grasp the

thoughts of a thoughtful sermon, is an intellectual discipline. To understand a thoughtful, delivered lecture is the same sort of discipline as to follow a thoughtful, delivered sermon, or to listen to an elaborate judgment in a law-court, or a very argumentative speech in the House of Commons. To have listened to some of Mr. Burke's speeches must have been *an* intellectual discipline. And yet I doubt not that one who recollects his first study of a book, hard in proportion to the then cultivation of his faculties, and compares with it the intellectual exercise of understanding any lecture which he has ever heard, will think, with me, that the study of the book was the hardest and most improving discipline.

I said that in listening to a lecture, "the mind is simply a recipient." "It is passive, not active." The contrast which I intended was between *receiving* knowledge, with every other faculty suspended for the time, except those engaged in receiving it, and the *active* state of the mind, which digests what it receives, compares its own thoughts with the thoughts of its instructor, corrects, modifies, enlarges them accordingly, receives also new thoughts, and amalgamates them with what it had before. Certainly, remembering the Catechetical lectures which I myself received, either in the Ethics, or from Bp. Lloyd in the Epistle to the Romans, I am satisfied that Catechetical lectures may be a much higher and more improving discipline to the mind than any delivered lecture. No sustained attention to a delivered lecture is comparable to the healthful ac-

tivity, in the Catechetical lecture, which alternates and combines with the instruction which it receives. It is remarkable how, in the sort of discourse which seems least to admit of this, the sermon, St. Augustine contrived to hinder the *mere* reception of what he taught, by asking his hearers questions, which he himself presently answered. He, the most powerful mind of Christian antiquity, saw that the mind would not receive even doctrinal instruction or exposition of Holy Scripture so healthfully, unless it combined previous active thought with the subsequent reception of instruction.

This same contrast of "passive" and "active" employment of the mind, is made by a writer, whom, when I wrote my Evidence, I had not read, and whose name is not, like mine, associated with supposed prejudices. Dr. Whewell says^c, "There are two modes of teaching, which, in a general view, may be broadly distinguished from each other. In the one mode the lecturer merely expounds to his audience the doctrines or results belonging to some branch of knowledge; he states the discoveries and speculations of antecedent philosophers, or his own, while the office of the audience is only to attend to him; they have to listen, to receive, think on, and treasure up what the speaker delivers, without being called upon themselves to take any active part; without being required to produce, to test, or to apply the knowledge thus acquired. In another mode of teaching, the learner has not merely to

^c Principles of University Education, p. 5.

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the physical sciences he uses the same distinction as myself as to the *information* and the *formation* of the mind. He says, "The¹ effect of the clear insight of geometry or mechanics cannot be efficiently replaced by sciences which exhibit a mass of observed facts, and consequent doubtful speculations, as geology; or even by other sciences, as chemistry and natural history, which, though they involve philosophical principles, can only be learnt by presenting numerous facts to the senses. But though such sciences cannot do the work of mental cultivation, they are highly valuable acquisitions to the student, and may very beneficially engage his attention during the later years of his University career. For although they do not constitute the *culture*, they belong to the *information* of the well-educated man; though his habits of thought must be *formed* among other subjects, they may be beneficially *employed* on these."

The principle, however, upon which Dr. Whewell holds practical or catechetical teaching to be the real and essential discipline of the human mind is the same. "Practical teaching is applicable to a limited range of subjects, those namely, in which principles, having clear evidence and stable certainty, form the basis of our knowledge." Of this kind are "languages² and mathematics; but many of the sciences, and those especially which are wide and varied in their topics, those which involve doubtful or newly-established principles, those of

¹ *Ib.*, p. 9.

² *Id.*, p. 7.

which the foundations are constantly undergoing changes, can hardly be taught otherwise than speculatively. Such subjects are, for example, geology, political economy, and, as appears to me, metaphysics. In such subjects as these, the student may listen, and may acquire such knowledge as the teacher possesses; but he is not, and cannot be called upon, as a part of the teaching, to do something which depends on the knowledge thus acquired. He may follow with the clearest apprehension, and it may be with full and well-founded conviction, the views which are presented to him by the teacher; but still he is *passive* only; he is a spectator, not an actor, in the intellectual scene."

This activity of mind, as developed in the practical (or as I have called it catechetical or tutorial) teaching, Dr. Whewell vividly describes, in regard to mathematics: "In mathematics, the student is rendered familiar with the most perfect examples of strict inference; he is compelled habitually to fix his attention on those conditions on which the cogency of the demonstration depends; and in the mistaken or imperfect attempts at demonstration made by himself or others, he is presented with examples of the most natural fallacies, which he sees exposed and corrected." "The^h language contains a constant succession of short and rapid references to what has been proved already; and it is justly assumed that each of these brief movements helps the reasoner forward in a course of infallible cer-

^h *Ib.*, p. 12, 13.

tainty and security. Each of these hasty glances must possess the clearness of intuitive evidence, and the certainty of mature reflection : and yet must leave the reasoner's mind entirely free to turn instantly to the next point of his progress. The faculty of performing such processes well and readily, is of great value."

The description, *mutatis mutandis*, reminds me of the argument of the thoughtful Mr. Davison, in defending classical studies. The continual exercise of judgment in ascertaining the meaning of any deeper classic or Greek philosopher ; the necessity of adhering to strict rules in tracing it ; the various attempts of the mind to combine the different possible meanings of words, or to master the reasoning ; the necessity of rigid adherence to certain fixed principles of grammar and language ; the certainty of failure, if these be neglected ; the necessity of keeping in check any theory as to what the author is likely to mean, if that meaning can only be extracted by the slightest deviation from those laws¹ ; while yet activity of mind and judgment are continually exercised in divining the meaning beforehand, rejecting this and adopting that, but all in subservience to the fixed laws of truth ; the failures and

¹ The greater part of the wild Hebrew criticism which disfigured the interpretation of the Old Testament in Michaelis and the critics after him, and which, in part, still disfigures it, has been owing entirely to the neglect of plain fundamental principles. The conjectural criticism in our own country, in the school of Newcome, Horsley, and even Lowth, was owing, in great measure, to an impatient adoption of what, on the surface, was easier, to the neglect of the more laborious analysis, which would have solved the difficulties of the text.

mistakes as well as the successes of the mind ; the sudden flash of thought as well as its patient verification ; the mind's own efforts in eliciting truths, or deducing inferences, or following out those suggested by the more matured mind of the tutor ; the condensation of thought on each single step ; the endeavour to bind together the links of the chain of reasoning, which give way so soon as any error is admitted ; this often-repeated process furnishes practical lessons in reasoning, for which those who have gone through it have been thankful during the whole of their lives.

Dr. Whewell goes further, and connects historically the eminence of Greek education with practical, its decline and that of civilization itself with the speculative or professorial, teaching, and the revival of knowledge with the revival of the practical teaching. "Of¹ the Greek education, up to the time of Plato, we know enough to be able to assert that it was in the main practical teaching. The 'Music' (*μουσική*) which constituted the principal part of this, was taught unquestionably in a practical manner ; and if the occasion admitted, it might be shewn, both from the elements which it included, and from the way in which it was conducted, that it had nearly the same effect that the practical teaching of mathematics has, in giving distinctness to the ideas,—independently of its other and collateral influences. But in the time of Aristophanes, a change took place in the instruction of

¹ *Ib.*, p. 22.

the Greek youth. The sophists and philosophers were extraordinarily admired and followed ; and to acquire an acquaintance with their doctrines and systems came to be considered as the most essential part of a liberal education. This was still more the case among the Romans, when they attempted to take a place among the cultivated nations. Their youth listened to what 'Chrysippus and Crantor taught,' and were thus supposed to be filled with all learning. The study of *philosophy*, in the general sense, that is, of the moral, metaphysical, and physical doctrines of the framers of universal systems, was, as we know, the highest conception of the Greeks and Romans in their aiming at intellectual culture, till civilization itself sickened and declined. It was so, too, among the Neoplatonists, the schoolmen¹, the theologians of the middle ages ; till in the monasteries there again grew up a method of practical teaching, from which the system of the English Universities had its origin."

¹ Dr. Whewell sums up thus :—"The progress of science corresponds to the time of practical teaching ; the stationary, or retrograde, period of science, is the period when philosophy was the instrument of education."

Professor Vaughan admits, or states, that mature reflection upon either a book or lecture, must be subsequent to the act of receiving the information. He thinks that in this respect the words delivered

¹ I do not, of course, make all the details of Dr. Whewell my own ; nor subscribe to the statement as to the schoolmen or the middle ages.

orally have the advantage over the same words in writing in a book, viz., that if any one would diligently attend to a recited lecture, he *must* suspend his judgment to the end. Thoughtful and dispassionate hearers or readers *will* keep their judgment in suspense until they know the whole substance upon which they have to judge. But if they do, it will be by an act of the will only. We see and know of the contrary daily. A thoughtful speech on any momentous question in the House of Commons, a thoughtful sermon, a thoughtful judgment in a court of law, are, thus far, heard in the same manner as the thoughtful lecture. In none of these cases, nor in the book, does the suspension or non-suspension of the hearer's or reader's judgment depend on the outward physical fact, that he is a hearer or reader. On the one side, it depends upon the modesty of the hearer or reader; on the other, upon his confidence in the teacher, whether in the pulpit, the court of law, the House of Commons, the lecture-room, or the book. If the hearer or reader has confidence in him whom he hears or reads, and if he believes him to have knowledge far superior to his own, he keeps his judgment suspended, on *this* very ground, that any judgment which he should be inclined to form at the outset, if at variance with that of one superior to himself, would probably have to be corrected by what is to follow. Else, no rapidity of sustained delivery can forerun or shut out the lightning rapidity of thought. *Matured* judgment there cannot be; *judgment*, good or

bad, perfect or imperfect, there ever will be, whenever there is any subject upon which judgment can be formed, unless the judgment is overawed and kept in check by the supposed or real superiority of him, who, whether orally or in writing, speaks to the understanding. Do we not see how, even in conversation, arguers anticipate their opponents, and forestall, sometimes wrongly, the argument, before it is fully uttered? Even in churches themselves, we may see assent or dissent expressed in the countenance, sometimes even before the sentence is concluded. St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom had to repress the noisy approbation of their hearers, when expressions or thoughts in their sermons pleased them. Those who have attended German lecture-rooms will remember the noises with the feet, expressive of approbation or dissatisfaction at passages in the delivered lecture. In the House of Commons, applause or the contrary, will mostly accompany any remarkable speech. On the other hand, we have seen how a Chancellor of the Exchequer could keep the attention of the House of Commons thoroughly suspended, with almost breathless expectation, amid an elaborate detail of calculations, because the members felt, that he was in far fuller possession of his subject than they. And so, as to the book, any of us must recollect the time when we first took up a book in which we expected to find information or instruction, far beyond ourselves. We entered on the study of it with the same deference which we should have

shewn to the author, had he been speaking to us. Nay, Hooker or Bull, St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, would probably be listened to in their works with more deference than they received, while yet in the flesh. But whereas the temptation to judge *prematurely*, is the same in all cases, the *power* of judging *maturely* is very different. For the hearer of a lecture has but his own imperfect reminiscences as the materials of his judgment ; the reader has before him, the accurate, matured, and precise expression of the writer's mind, as the groundwork of his.

I believe then, on every ground, that the delivered lecture is very inferior, even as a mental discipline, to the printed book. But, whereas any lecture, when most perfected, is in truth, not even the completest book which the Professor could write, (for delivery does not admit of the same fullness or subordination of parts as a printed book,) the Professor's office ends where the Tutor's begins. The continual, individual, detailed, special teaching, the practice and exercise of the mind, through means of the written book, carried on by one of maturer knowledge and wisdom, is the true, substantial, solid education which forms every power of the understanding for the office which the man is hereafter to undertake, for the glory of God, and the well-being of His people.

III. "The¹ third ground elaborately maintained against a Professoriate is that *Professors do not aid the advancement of truth.*"

¹ Prof. Vaughan, p. 43

I have already quoted my own statement, which implies the contrary. "With^m regard to the Professors themselves, it is, of course, good that there should be offices of leisure for the promotion of Theological and *other learning*." What I did oppose, was not the Professoriate, but the idolatry of the Professoriate, and the prominence given in the Commissioners' Report to what I believe to be, for any purpose of education, the worst form of teaching, "delivered lectures." Such lectures may be in place, where the simple object is to impress with authority, recognised and received facts or truths. But the sphere of such teaching is certain *truth*, whether doctrinal or moral, not *opinion*; their legitimate object is to inform the ignorant, not to educate.

The Commissioners appeared to me, to have floating before them, two objects. First, they desired to gather together at Oxford, as Professors, men of the highest intellect and knowledge that they could obtain, who should advance their respective sciences, whether Theology, Jurisprudence, Physical or Mental science. Secondly, they expected these Professors to be eminently "*the*"ⁿ active teachers of the University," and to be stimulated to exertion by the size and interest of their classes^o.

^m Ib., p. 14.

ⁿ Report, p. 94.

^o Report, p. 96, 7. The Commissioners spoke also with satisfaction of the several hundred students attracted by the name and character of Dr. Arnold; the "numerous audiences" by which "the present Professors of Sanscrit and Modern History have been attended," when "they have delivered public lectures;" of the "numerous attendance which an able and eloquent Professor can command, if his lectures relate to subjects of general interest, bearing directly on the public ex-

It was not mere endowment which was contemplated, nor places of learned study. The Professors of Theology were (as the Commissioners noticed) munificently^p endowed. But it seemed to them little to say^q, that those Professors had "produced no results commensurate with their emoluments." The Commissioners looked to a contemplated increase of Theological *students*, as calculated "to call the Professors into more active Academic life," and thereby to form in the University "a great Theological school." The third year of Academical study they recommended to be given to studies directly preparatory, and belonging to the future Professional^r course; and these studies were chiefly

aminations." (Report, p. 93.) At the same time, they selected for approbation, Evidence directed *against* the Tutorial system, *on the ground of the large lectures*. "The plan also of teaching in large lectures, while it gives but little instruction to the less advanced, is inexpressibly tedious and disgusting to the more forward Student." (Mr. Lowe's Evid., p. 12; quoted Report, p. 88.)

^p *Ib.*, p. 73.

^q "It has been already stated that theological teaching, as such, does not thrive in the University, and that (*to say the least*) the Professorships, so richly endowed for its support, produce no results commensurate with their emoluments." Report, p. 73. This observation can only be meant to apply to the three older professorships, since of the three later, two have existed only for fourteen, the other for seven years. Yet (not to speak of any, still living) the last forty years have seen as *Regius* Professors of Divinity, the learned and laborious Bp. Van Mildert, and Dr. Burton, who, as well as the able and unwearied Bp. Lloyd, was taken away by untimely death before he could mature his works. My own predecessors within that period were Dr. Lawrence, one of the first *Æthiopic*, and Dr. Nicoll, one of the first *Arabic*, scholars in Europe, who again was taken away in the prime of life.

^r Prof. Vaughan says: "I consider it strange that both Dr. Pusey and the Hebdomadal Committee should regard the studies of the modern history school and physical science, as professional studies. They were not introduced as such, advocated as such, established as such,

to be conducted by Professors. The necessity of Tutorial teaching, *throughout* the University course, was for "the listless" and "the dull;" or, at best, the Tutor was to "repeat in other forms the teach-

nor defended as such; and a glance at the books recommended would shew, by a comparison with the studies of a professional nature in law or medicine, the great incorrectness of such a construction. In practical refutation of this view, I think it enough to place side by side the medical course at Edinburgh, and the physical course at Oxford; and also, side by side, the legal course in London, and the legal and historical course at Oxford." Yet studies may be "professional," although they embrace not the whole course, needful for that profession. The Commissioners distinguished between studies preparatory for the profession, and "strictly professional studies." But, "on medical studies" (p. 71) they blamed the University "for the little encouragement which, even considering all it has done by its recent improvements, it has as yet given to those physical sciences which medical students ought to learn before they begin their strictly professional course." On legal studies, they said (Ib.) "Under an improved system young men might be efficiently assisted in Oxford in the attainment of much knowledge directly serviceable in training a young lawyer for his profession." "It is not recommended that the University should be made a place of professional education, at least not for law and medicine. But it is suggested that if its students cannot be made lawyers and physicians in Oxford itself, they may there be taught much that would prepare them for the strictly professional studies to be pursued in the great towns, where these professions are practised." (p. 72.) "We have already stated that the recent statute made some advance towards this end. The changes introduced by it were in some measure a return towards the ancient distinction between the Faculty of Arts, and the higher Faculties of Theology, Law, and Medicine. But the principle recognised is as yet imperfectly carried out." "The obvious mode of amending this scheme would be to enact that all students, after giving satisfactory evidence of classical knowledge at the Intermediate Examination, should be relieved from the necessity of continuing the studies of the grammar school, and should be at liberty, for the latter period of their career, to devote themselves to pursuits preparatory to their future professions." (Ib.) It is a mere question of words, whether a course of study *directly* preparatory for a profession be called professional or no. It is plainly the commencement of the professional course, and is contemplated as such by the Commissioners.

* Report, p. 100, 1.

ing of the Professors, and ascertain the exactness of the knowledge gained by their pupils."

A new class of students was to be introduced into the University, separated from the Colleges¹, and so, entirely dependant upon the Professors and their deputies.

What I wished to oppose was in part the spurious excitement of this plan; in part, its inefficient and superficial mode of instruction. What I maintained was,

1. "The delivery of written lectures is not the best immediate basis for books to be published, and the Professorship has no advantage for the promotion of learning above any other sort of learned leisure."

2. "In all, except the physical sciences, (in which new instruments or new modes of analysis open new facts,) the idea of promoting his science is likely to be rather detrimental than beneficial to the Professor."

3. "It is a mistake to think that superior books will be the result of Professorial *lectures*."

4. "The great books of any time are those which are called forth by the consciousness that there is some great work to be done. A great man does not sit down to work, out of some intellectual notion of advancing his science or department."

5. "A Professor^x who would be likely to produce anything worth reading, would not be dependant

¹ See above p. 7, note j.

^x p. 14.

² Evid., p. 13.

³ Ib., p. 18.

upon the adscititious interest of a class. Whether his mind be original, or whether he combine, reproduce, recreate, modify, correct, enlarge, apply, what already exists, his real interest must be that he has *that* to communicate, which may in some way be to the glory of God through the benefit of his fellow men.”—“Apart from the question of improving the individual minds, a solid thinker can never need the stimulant of an audience, to listen to him for an hour, when he may write, if he have the power, for generations. Such a stimulant could never have produced the works of our great divines. They could not be what they are, if they could have needed or been actuated by it. The impulse which produces anything great must, whether religious or moral, itself be great.”

Practically, I said, “People’ in their theories as to their ideal Professor, combine two incompatible things, that he shall, in his lectures, act upon large classes, and that through those same lectures, whereby he acts upon them, he shall advance the deeper knowledge of his subject.”

Professor Vaughan founds his answer in part upon the mistake, which runs throughout his attack upon me; viz., that I was objecting to the *establishment* of Professorships. He himself takes a different view from other Professors, who, I know, deplore the smallness of the classes, and the fewness of their lectures. He deprecated what the Commissioners state’ to have been “the most

’ *Ib.*, p. 14.

’ Report, p. 100.

popular plan for *combining* the Tutorial and Professorial systems," which was in fact, wholly to *separate* them, viz. to assign the two first years to the Tutors, the last and most important to the Professors. This he deprecated primarily, on the ground that it "would tend to make the Professor into a Tutor of the third year." He now deprecates "the" rigid exaction of numerous lectures from all the Professors alike;" disowns the practice of "Germany and Scotland, in" which "the only public teachers seem to have been Professors; the predominant system has been the lecturing system."

If, by all this, he means that he does *not* wish the delivered lectures of the Professors to be the staple instruction of any class in the University, either of the proposed Non-Collegiate body, or of the Collegiate Undergraduates in their later studies, but only to be something superadded to the existing system, leaving that system as it was; this portion of my remarks does not apply to *his* theory of Professorial lectures. My remarks were addressed to the recommendations of the Commissioners, which I was invited to consider; and to *them* they apply.

To the statement that persons, devoted to a science, may naturally be expected to advance that science, no one could object. I objected only to what I believe to be a delusion, that knowledge will be advanced through *delivered lectures*, which should be, as in the Scotch and German Universities, the

staple of the education of the student. I said, the "very" object of the Professor who delivers lectures is, or ought to be, to give solid instruction to his class on the body of his subject, not to go off to those lesser points, in which, mainly, knowledge has to be enlarged. The great principles of any subject which has long been studied, have been known long ago. They are these, and not the lesser or finer questions, by which the mind of a student has to be improved."

Prof. Vaughan objects to this, the improvements which have taken place in (1) Philology, (2) Astronomy, (3) Electricity, (4) Political Economy, and the possible improvements in History. Of these, Astronomy and Electricity, as physical sciences, I had already excepted. Political Economy he himself speaks of, as a science dating from the middle of the last century. This then, whatever be its merits, clearly is not a "subject which has long been studied." With regard to Philology, (1) the advances which have been made, have been made, in part, as Professor Vaughan himself says, by "silent men"; the Bentleys and the Porsons, the Elmsleys and the Gaisfords, of our academies." (2) The German philological lectures, are not, mostly, on the science of philology; but like our own collegiate lectures, on the ancient authors^d.

^b Evid., p. 15.

^c Evid., p. 275; quoted Report, p. 97.

^d At Berlin, A. 1826, Æschines and Demosthenes were the text-books of Bekker and Boeckh; besides these, Dr. Bekker was lecturing, as a private tutor, in the *elements* of Greek grammar. Two extraordinary professors gave lectures in Horace's Odes, Epistles, and Ars Poet.,

In lectures of this sort, the *object* would obviously be the same as in our own Universities, not the advancement of the science but the instruction in the language. On history I have already spoken*. Doubtless the continued cultivation of history will bring out valuable facts; but what is of moment to the student, is, as I said, the ordinary stock of knowledge, not the more recondite points.

Granting, even, that the Germans are the best editors, the educated classes in England are, I have understood, beyond doubt the best scholars. And if so the Oxford Tutors have, even under this limited aspect, discharged their office, *as educators*, better than the German Professors.

Why, then, it may be asked, have not our own College-Tutors done as much as German Professors? Their disadvantages have been (1) the want of preparation on the part of the young men. On this I spoke as strongly as Prof. Vaughan. "It" is almost in-

and the Agamemnon of Æschylus. At Göttingen, in 1825, Horace and Terence were the text-books; beside these, the members of the Royal Theological Seminary construed the Pharsalia like our students. At Bonn, 1827, Hesiod, Homer's Hymn to Ceres, Propertius, the Frogs, select Odes of Pindar, Demosthenes' Olynthiacs and Philippics, Horace's Epp. and Ars Poet., Cicero de Officiis (with practice in Latin writing), and Tacitus' Histories, were the text-books used by different Professors for different classes of students. With these was united practice like our own. At Breslau, A. 1836, Hesiod's Theogony, Plautus' Bacchides, Horace's Odes, lib. ii., Cicero's Paradoxa, Plato's Republic and Hippias Major, were the text-books; and Xenophon's Symposium was translated in the philological seminary. These accounts are taken from lists of lectures, each of a half year.

* Above, p. 19.

† Evid., p. 95. Prof. Vaughan says (p. 30, note) as if in answer to me, "I must add in stronger and more emphatic language, that the devotion, almost exclusive and compulsory, of the powers of the young

conceivable how so many years can be passed in learning so little. The classical part of the examinations at Responsions ought to be passed by a well-educated boy of twelve years old. The average knowledge of Greek or Latin, at the close of the University course, might, if the schools were improved, readily be obtained before its commencement." But this is obviously the fault, not of the Universities, but of the schools. The fault might be mitigated by a Matriculation examination, which I myself advocated, and which has been hitherto deferred, out of a mistaken tenderness, I think, for some who would be subjected to it. Yet so long as people do come unprepared for higher study, it is the duty of the University to adapt her teaching to their condition. The main object of the University must be the cultivation, not of science, but of men.

(2) Our College-Tutors teach upon too large a variety

intellect to the Latin and Greek languages, from the age of six to the age of twenty-two, would be a disgrace to our conduct and education of the human understanding."—"I believe that it might possibly be found that we have hitherto learned the classical languages—painfully, imperfectly, and unseasonably—slowly imbibing rules by rote, and by the ear, because we learn them at an age too unripe for a rational appreciation of such abstract propositions, and losing thereby great part of the discipline so much boasted in the course of acquisition." This, if true, would be an objection, not to our continuing the study of Latin and Greek authors so late, but to our beginning them so early. But of the years from six to twenty-two, the University is accountable only for the three last. I deprecated only the abridgment of the University course, the third year being the most valuable. If persons do come unprepared to the University, it is better that they should receive even a prolonged discipline there, than forfeit it altogether. I should myself think it far better if students were to come up at eighteen, and a mathematical course were made obligatory on all. At Christ Church, many years ago, one year's mathematical study was required of all.

of subjects. This, too, might readily be remedied by a division of labour. It exists in a degree in a College so large as Christ Church. The very strengthening of the Collegiate system, by means of Affiliated Halls, would give occasion for such division of labour in other Colleges also, in that a larger number of Fellows might be engaged in instruction. Then, each might be engaged in his own special department, instead of being compelled, as now, to lecture upon manifold subjects, as Ethics, Rhetoric, Logic, Ancient History, Greek and Latin Philology.

3. I never imagined that our knowledge of philology was at its height, or that it might not be advanced by persons devoting themselves to the study. But this very study, (if any,) in order to benefit the student, *must* be conducted catechetically. The first oriental Professors in Germany, and I believe, in France also, taught catechetically in their private lectures,—the very lectures which most aided the pupil.

An elaborate list of the editions of the Classics, or comments upon them, has been arrayed against me as weighty evidence. It is thought “not^s a

^s “It is not a little singular that a writer dealing elaborately with the intellectual results of Professorial education in Germany, should have said next to nothing on the subject of classical philology, more especially as it is one which has always entered largely into Oxford studies, and one too, which is put forward with more or less prominence by the advocates of a revived Professoriate. Yet, with the exception of a paragraph (39), On Oxford Greek Professors, and another (46) on the Homeric controversy, it is difficult to find any recognition of this element of the question throughout the compass of

little singular," that I should have said nothing of it. It no way affects my argument. I was speaking not of the growth of literature as such, but of the effects of a certain mode of teaching, in forming, or leaving unformed, the minds of the taught. The tendency of that system, I believe to be, to injure the healthy independance of the mind. "The^b Germans are (I said), by natural character, noble, generous, full of feeling, thoughtful, earnest, clear-minded, laborious."

"Noⁱ one can question the power and strength of the German mind. Yet two defects are very remarkable and have been a blight upon it :

I. The rigid and dry following of an imposing system or teacher.

II. The want of solidity in the systems which successively arose."

It is not the shadow of an answer to this, to point to large stores of editions of the Classics produced by persons devoted to that study. I was speaking not of editions of books, of collations of MSS., of illustrations of ancient authors, but of healthy, solid, manly, thoughtful, expansive developement of the whole mind and its every faculty, as a well-framed instrument for whatever service, either towards God or towards man. And since the main object of the University is to form *men*, I believe that the fuller developement of the *existing* system

Dr. Pusey's voluminous evidence." Mr. Conington on the scholarship of Germany, published by Professor Vaughan, p. 97.

^b Evid., p. 62.

ⁱ Ib., p. 29.

of Oxford is that by which that end may best be obtained.

The graver charges of Professor Vaughan lie in his fourth and fifth statements. Of the fourth he says ;

“IV. The¹ fourth proposition, that *Theological Professors are the causes of heresy and scepticism*, is maintained through an elaborate argument, and many examples offered, to shew that Theological Professors in Germany have taught and produced a rationalistic theology.”

This stood, in my evidence, as a part only of a larger whole, that the Professorial system made the pupil unduly dependant upon the teacher, was unfavorable to the right developement of the student's mind, and “issued in a rigid and dry following of an imposing system or teacher.”

Professor Vaughan holds the fact, if true, to be “beside the purpose;” implies that this reference to “the Professorial system is introduced for the first time” for a purpose; and attacks me personally as inconsistent with myself. For the sake of clearness, I set down his own words,

“A moment's consideration hereafter will be sufficient to make it clear that this elaborate treatment of such a point is thoroughly beside the purpose. And for this reason it is needless to enter into the causes and history of the rationalistic theology. But I am tempted to say that the professorial system is here again introduced for the

¹ Prof. Vaughan, p. 72.

first time, by one who long ago entered with great earnestness into an account of the sources and progress of rationalism.

“The first of these causes was *then* represented to be, that scholastic and traditional orthodoxy which, taking its origin from ancient times, lived on after the Reformation, without either history, or philology, or Scriptural knowledge to sustain it; and which, after a long and weary domination of more than a century, provoked pietism into existence, and sowed the seeds of every evil which after changes actually reared into the light.

“The second and not less capital enemy of Christianity in Germany, was *then* pictured to be deistic, and infidel, and collegiate England; where, although there were no Professors, ‘yet the attack upon Christianity had been carried on more systematically than in any other country.’ Toland, Hobbes, Collins, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Tindal and Morgan, writers, but not Professors—English, not German—translated into the German tongue,—were *then* supposed to have conspired as causes, with the defects in the Christian ministry of German pastors, with the moral and social wickedness of the age, and with the French levity of Frederick II., to convert an intellectual activity, which would have been beneficial under other circumstances, into a partial mischief; to overwhelm or lower the truths of revelation; to make a sentimental benevolence the all in all of religion and morals.”

It is quite true, that in 1827, in tracing the decay of German Theology, I dwelt on the rigidity of the Lutheran system, the "unpractical and frequently presumptuous polemics," the adherence to the mere letter of Luther, human technicalities, a logical formalism, an orthodoxism¹, uninfluential on life. "These things," I said^m, "*furnished a well-prepared soil for the seed of unbelief, under whatever immediate circumstance it might be planted.*" Pietism (as it was called) which set itself to reform the existing system, itself decayed. The decay made it powerless to resist the incursion of unbelief, whenever its storm should burst. The decay of any system of faith, in itself prepares for unbelief. Amid this state of things, the assault was made by a combination of the whole Anti-Christian literature of England and France, aided by all the influence of Frederic II. (who repented, when too late, of his miserable work) and a sharp-witted shallow philosophy. Yet the most startling and instructive fact was, that the reign of Rationalism was, not the direct triumph of unbelief, but the result of the decay of belief. The rationalists, as they existed at last, were the lineal descendants, not of the assailants of Christianity, but of its defenders. Translations of our English Apologists had but aggravated the evil.

Such was the appalling picture, which met me

¹ I ventured to coin this word to designate a lifeless spurious claim to orthodoxy.

^m Enquiry, p. 52.

on my first acquaintance with German Theology, at the age of twenty-five, and which determined my whole subsequent life. I could not but see some things in England, which corresponded in their degree to that former condition of Germany. I could not help owning a certain stiffness among some, who maintained what I believed to be the truth; one-sidedness in those who corresponded with the Pietists. I saw weak points in our Apologetic writers, and it was alarming to see, as a fact, that they had been arrayed against the infidel writers, and had failed, or had even aggravated the evil. I felt, that as to the Old Testament especially, we were not (in 1825) as yet prepared for the conflict with Rationalism. Neither the strict traditional school of Luther, nor the Pietists, who in their first origin had so remarkably resembled our "Evangelicals," had been able to stand against unbelief. Liberalism had been the child of Pietism. Being only twenty-seven (and as yet a layman) when I wrote my "Enquiry" into the causes of German rationalism, I did not venture to speak more plainly. I hoped that the picture might speak for itself to the hearts and minds of those whom I wished to see awakened to threatened danger.

And now, having nearly reached twice that age, although I have since seen, by God's mercy, some things which I did not then see clearly, I still think that the picture which I drew, and the causes which I assigned of German rationalism, were in the main correct. I have not then, (as Professor

Vaughan^a implies,) now for a purpose “imputed to the Professoriate, at this particular crisis of Oxford for the first time,” what I before ascribed to “causes far less minute.” The statement in my Evidence is not inconsistent with those in my Enquiry. In 1827 I was speaking of the *causes* of Rationalism; in 1853, I was speaking of the *agents*. It is no contradiction to speak at one time of the distant spring of water; at another, of the pipes which convey it. Cholera or the plague have been brought in cotton-goods. It is not thought irrational to enquire how they were *immediately* conveyed; nor is one who so enquires, supposed to be assigning the *ultimate* physical cause, which generated the disease. It is, as I have said, a fact, that “almost^b all those, through whom rationalism was nurtured, developed, ripened, were Professors.” “The Rationalistic writers of any name, who were not Professors, were placed in their offices by the Crown.”—“The Professors, who really resisted Rationalism, were almost as few as the pastors who *actively* promoted it.” If any can shew this not to have been so, let them shew it. If not, it is a phenomenon which remains to be solved in some way.

It is true, as Professor Vaughan says, that Deism took its rise in England. It is true also that of the principal Deists, Blount, Chubb, Collins, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Hobbes, Morgan, Tindal, Toland, four, i. e. Collins, Lord Herbert, Hobbes, Tindal, received an University education, and Tindal

^a p. 67.

^b Evid., p. 31.

^c p. 73.

died, a lay and non-resident fellow of All Souls. Deism *was* the offspring of "Collegiate England." Happy University, and happy Church, which could keep all its Lord's sheep from going astray, when they willed to wander! But, although Deism was the offspring of "Collegiate *England*," it was not the offspring of the *Collegiate system*. Individual aberrations there must always be, since God wills that man, if he believes in Him and loves Him, should do so through his own free choice. But although Deism sprang up here, it did not take root here. The Deists were Englishmen, but England was *not* "deistic." Deism took its rise in England, its reign was in Germany. The very fact, that these works, being of English origin, had not their full fruit in England, but *did* yield a death-crop in Germany, is in itself a fact, which requires to be accounted for.

Now, long before the times of Rationalism, the Professorial system in Germany had exercised a power, enslaving the intellect. We are accustomed to think of the Germans as powerful, original thinkers. I myself respect and love the Germans. Yet intellectual writers of their own, Lessing and Herder, upbraided them with their imitateness. It oftentimes shewed itself in a strange submission to lawlessness of mind.

We are of the same stock. Yet the English mind has been independant; the German has been imitative. We have had no schools; among the Germans from the Reformation downwards, there have been

successive schools. These schools existed in Philosophy, as well as Theology. Englishmen have been proud of Locke, but Locke left no school. Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, exercised by turns an almost undisputed sway. Everything, for a time, became Wolfian, Kantian, Hegelian. Theology, as well as Philosophy, became Wolfian. Sermons or catechisms bore the stamp of Wolfian Philosophy. I spoke, not of the value of that philosophy, but of its transient autocracy. Why had it so extensive and absolute a sway, when yet, after awhile, it was to resign its sceptre to another monarch over the German intellect, as absolute and as transient? "like a poor player, who struts and frets his hour upon the stage, and then is heard no longer." Systems of philosophy were like fashions of dress; first, absolute, then obsolete. Like Jonah's gourd, "the son of a night, perished in a night."

There may have been an original defect, in that the mind of one man, Luther, was so impressed upon Northern Germany. But it was for a time only that the tradition from Luther was thus propagated. The mode of the propagation aided, I believe, in the one-sidedness with which it was embraced and held. But although imitation began with following a tradition, it ended with following each individual who dictated his own speculation. Instead of a line of sovereigns, or one sovereign authority acknowledged by all, there was a succession of personal Dictators, each absolute, each in-

dependent, and each transient, beginning from themselves, and ending with themselves.

I believe that the very mode in which knowledge was imparted, had much to do with its rapid spread and its rapid decay. Professors wrote what they willed on the unprepared mind. Their work ended, a new set of Professors arose, and wrote their theories on the *tabula rasa* of the succeeding generation, as their predecessors had on the preceding. Systems, like usurpers, which violently displace others, have but a precarious tenure themselves¹. "Tibni died, and Omri reigned."

This question as to the undue personal influence of the individual teacher, arising from the very mode of his teaching, is quite distinct from that of the way in which the influence of individual Professors was used, whether for good or evil. Those who did harm, did in this way more extensive harm; and those who did good, did less abiding good. Prof. Vaughan says, "The Professors of Halle were depicted [in my Enquiry] as rescu-

¹ Prof. Vaughan says, "Locke, it appears, is a 'shallow rationalist,' in philosophy—for [rather, *and*] so the Germans hold of him. Hegel, Schelling, Fichte, and Kant, whose judgments, when they pronounce upon Locke, are not to be appealed from, [I never quoted them for this] have (we are led to think by Dr. Pusey's recital), when they pronounce upon the truths which Locke so simply and sublimely *aspired* after, successively bubbled, babbled, and passed away." I used no slighting language of *them*; but the fact that Wolf, the popular philosophy, Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, did successively hold absolute sway over the German mind: that each in turn displaced what went before, and was displaced by his successor, is unquestionable.

² p. 73.

ing the life of practical Christianity and restoring *for a brief season* the blessing of a biblical knowledge." Exactly so ; it was so brief and took no deep root. But an influence may be used from time to time for good, and yet be, in itself, undesirable. Absolute Monarchy may be, and often has been, employed for good ; yet we do not therefore wish to live under that of Russia. And I do believe that the Professorial system, i. e. the system of *delivered* lectures, does give to the Professors an undue influence over the minds of their class ; that it increases unduly individual influence, allows too much scope to individual theories, and breaks that continuity of instruction which should join on the present with the past^a,—a very important element in any solid and steady growth. I believe also that the temptation to display, to which delivered lectures are open and from which the humbler office of catechetical lectures is free, is dangerous. In my Enquiry, I mentioned the case of Eichhorn, as one whose "besetting¹ temptation was the pursuit of novelty, to the comparative disregard of truth." I have said since, "It^u is even hard to think that the Professors could really believe their own theories ; so much violence was often necessary to carry them out." Professors

^a There are some striking remarks on this subject by Dr. Whewell in his remarks "On the Study of Greek and Latin, as peculiar and indispensable elements of a liberal education." *Principles of Eng. Univ. Educ.*, p. 33—7.

¹ p. 137.

^u *Evid.*, p. 26.

were, as I said, the agents in introducing Rationalism; they did it, piece by piece. They did not intend it mostly, yet they did it. Some brought it in, while defending the Gospel. There was more scope and temptation for private theory and speculation. Any how they did speculate; and, their speculations, as to our Lord, His Apostles, the Prophets, as well as inferior criticism in the early rationalist times, would, if strung together, present a strange and melancholy exhibition of human nature. Prof. Vaughan says that "those^x who have been supposed to think like" myself "have commonly professed to estimate at a very humble rate, the talents and knowledge of their adversary." I was not aware of it; but let him then turn to De Wette^y, and his account of the earlier Rationalism.

Prof. Vaughan seems to think that incidental

^x Prof. Vaughan says this on occasion of some words of mine, which he alleged to relate to Dr. Hampden. My words were, "In another case, in which no one doubted that the Prime Minister had made a mistake, Convocation would unquestionably have chosen one with higher talents and *more scientific knowledge*." Evid., p. 117. In this, I had not the slightest idea of disparaging the individual to whom I alluded, and whom I respect. Yet the fact (as Prof. Vaughan would agree with me) was, as I said. It is not to disparage any person to say that another has "*more scientific knowledge*;" especially on any subject in which "practical knowledge" needs to be specially cultivated for itself, and in which it is very difficult for one who does so cultivate it, to keep pace with the continual accessions to "scientific knowledge." I said thus much, because of the unjust aspersions in the evidence to the Commissioners on the elections of Professors by Convocation, and the undue praise of the appointments by the Prime Minister, with the view of getting rid of the elections by Convocation, and promoting the nominations of the Prime Minister.

^y Quoted Evid., p. 31, 2.

error will, after all, be no great evil. For pure error, even if it obtain circulation for a time, will soon be destroyed ; the very delay in detecting "error in the new or re-establishing truth in the old, implies that the old was not entirely true, the new not mainly or grossly false;" that truth is established amid error and through error ; and that so in the end, good is gained.

Undoubtedly Almighty God, in ways which we dimly see, overrules all the evil in this world to the good of His own. The Divine truths of the Gospel itself have stood out the more clearly through heresy. But at what cost ! Error is *not* short-lived. It will probably be co-existent with the truth, the tares with the wheat, until the Lord of the harvest comes. It might be nearer the truth to say, "no moral or religious error ever perishes." It has a fiendish life from the author of evil. If it disappear for a while, it but sleeps, to re-awaken. The great heresies which have desolated Christianity, after centuries, stiffen on in the East still. The Pantheism of India has disputed with the Gospel for the ascendancy over German intellect, and extensively prevailed. Socinianism, Naturalism, Deism, Pantheism, will probably hold a long conflict for the possession of England. God in His mercy, shorten the conflict.

But, again, error even in subordinate subjects, whenever it involves wrong principles, spreads far beyond the ground where it first sprang up. Prof. Vaughan thinks that "the plan of the Iliad is better appreciated, and the character of all national poetry

has received some useful illustration" from the speculation of Wolf upon Homer. It seemed a very harmless subject. But the speculation introduced two wrong principles. 1. The disregard of traditional evidence. 2. The theory that a minute verbal criticism could suffice to dissect works which had descended to us as wholes, into various compound parts. Heyne was wrong in ascribing to our Bishops the power or the inclination to check, by authority, the reception of the Wolfian theory among us*. He was right in thinking that the speculations on Homer were the parents of that manifold brood, the speculations on the composition of Holy Scripture. The scepticism as to Homer ushered in the scepticism on the Old Testament.

"The doctrine of expediency in morals," if by this Professor Vaughan means, the theory that expe-

* The fact which I meant to state (*Evid.*, p. 24) I learnt in 1825, at Göttingen, where Heyne had been professor, and I had then to answer the strange fancy, which was propagated from Heyne, that our bishops prevented our receiving the Wolfian theory as to Homer. He supposed that they prevented it, in order to prevent the ulterior application of the same theory to Holy Scripture. Prof. Vaughan, on occasion of a slip in writing, imputes to me somewhat singular ignorance. "The marvellous fertility of Professorial Universities in learning and talent, has enabled Dr. Pusey erroneously to attribute the theory of so great a man as Wolf to another Professorial scholar of the same age and nation (Heyne) without absurdity." p. 58. The Wolfian theory as to Homer I knew as a boy of seventeen, and I had been lately reading on the subject. I should have thought it unconscientious to have written on the subject, without knowledge of the facts. But having been compelled to delay writing my *Evidence*, I wrote it, at last, amid exceeding pressure, and put "his" instead of "the Wolfian."

diency is the ultimate rule of right, degraded and lowered morality and the human mind.

Prof. Vaughan says of my former work, "The Professors who adopted and disseminated the Wolfian Philosophy were *then* portrayed as intending to sustain Christian truth. The transcendental Professors, by demolishing the low popular philosophy to which England had given birth in earnest error, and which France soon cultivated in a spirit of satire and corrupt mockery, were *then* thought to have at least shewn, on its promulgation, the necessity of faith, and to have assisted directly to restore the sway of those fundamental truths of conscience which the mere understanding could never demonstrate."

I think the same now. Of Kant's philosophy I have lately said, "it was on its positive side, a gain, in that it awoke the conscience, and exposed the shallowness of a system, more hopelessly irreligious and self-satisfied. But, on its negative side, it strengthened Rationalism, and gave it its definite form. 'The Kantian *αὐτονομία* of reason,' said Twisten, 'left room for the Deity, but not for a Revelation, in the sense of the Christian believer.'"

I own now, as I did then, that Almighty God used these philosophies, to lead men back to the promised land, which their authors knew not of. Yet what in them was evil does not cease to be evil, because God used it to rescue men from worse evil. He often allows pride to be broken through falls into deadly sin. He often employs

what is imperfect, or not really Christian, in breaking a worse yoke, or awakening the soul to yearn after unknown truth. I believe that every deeper thought, every particle of more solid knowledge, every truer glimpse into human nature, every larger aspect of any thing in heaven or earth, will, if received aright, make or prepare a way for the truth and revelation of God. The most pernicious enemies of the Gospel have been the shallowest. And yet, although the way may be won back at last, and each revival of truth may lead towards a revival of faith, yet what a wide dreary waste have we to lament in the meanwhile.

Prof. Vaughan reminds me of my hopeful language as to Germany in 1827. It is true that I have been disappointed. I watched, with many a heart-ache, over the struggles of the faith in Germany, and came to see how hard a thing it is for the intellectual mind of a country, which has once broken away from the faith, to be again won to it in its integrity. But again, even in the school*, which was mainly instrumental in the revival of the faith, I observed while I was yet in Germany, the risk of one-sidedness ; and some of the Professors, who were engaged in that work of restoration, expressed to me the fear, lest students, simply receiving what was taught them without any thought of their own, should receive that teaching superficially.

2. This defect in professorial teaching, is not (as

* I have been asked *why* I did *not* notice this school in my evidence. My answer is that I did, n. 76.

Prof. Vaughan twice imputes to me) now put forward, at this crisis, for the first time. On the contrary, I made the same contrast between catechetical and professorial teaching twenty-one years ago. I was recommending the adoption of the German division of labour, of the prolonged study of theology at German Universities, of the value of studying Holy Scripture with Professors, of the value of the continued life-long study to the Professors themselves, and to the production of theological works. But the teaching which I had in my mind, then as now, was Catechetical, although as a young man I spoke with deference to the judgment of others. As the work has for many years been out of print, I may make rather a long extract from it. After speaking of the absence of control which I had observed in German Universities, I said :

“ It^b is in the midst of the feelings of such newly-acquired independence, and of all the tumult of mind arising from the first uncontrolled use of his mental powers, in the midst of self-gratulation and self-confidence, that the theological student is left, or invited, to enter upon studies, which, beyond all others, demand patience, self-control, earnestness, submission, soberness. The evil is doubtless aggravated by the present state of the German Universities, in most of which the student has his choice whether he shall derive his instruction from a Rationalist, or at least from one approaching to

^b Prospective and past benefits of Cathedral institutions, p. 45—49. ed. 2.

Rationalism, or from a believer. And this aggravated form of the evil we may hope to see diminished, as it has already been in the Prussian Universities, by the careful appointment to the vacant Professorships. But even were this extreme evil altogether removed, and theology everywhere taught, as, or more nearly, as it ought to be, it would still be very hurtful that the students should enter upon these holy studies when in a frame of mind, naturally the least calculated to appreciate or to receive them. However carefully, moreover, the gradation of the different theological sciences may be observed, and the least difficult proposed at the outset, still this is no real remedy where the whole method of treating these subjects is ill adapted for the age of those to whom they are imparted. The questions in every branch of theology discussed in Germany, are strong meat for persons who require a less oppressive nourishment. Questions, as they would occur to the ripened divine, are propounded to those who scarcely know the first elements of theology. The momentous subjects of inspiration or revelation, the Canon of Scripture, the relation of the Old Testament to the New, are presented with all the array of embarrassments with which human perverseness has invested them, to persons utterly incapable of forming a right judgment upon them, and more likely to pervert than to digest the instruction which the Professor communicates. At the best, all which could be anticipated from the ordinary student, is a subsequent and tardy digestion of

subjects, which, at the time, he cannot comprehend. The students, meanwhile, expect that the Professor should declare to them his opinion upon each subject which has been agitated among the German theologians: by reserve upon any point, (it matters not whether it be fitted for their age or no), he forfeits their confidence and his own reputation.

“The mode again, in which the information is given, namely continuous oral delivery, although it may be well calculated for persons who have obtained definite ideas upon any subject, is little suited for those to whom that subject is altogether new. It produces imitators, not genuine divines; it imparts knowledge, but it does not instruct or form the mind. No subsequent digestion of any subject can compensate for the loss of that activity of mind, and that perception of one’s own real difficulties, which is produced by independent study, preparatory to the imparting of instruction. The whole of education, nay, the whole of our entire education through our whole lives, is a gradual correction of the erroneous conceptions which we had at first mingled with the truth; and the forcing system, which would anticipate this slow developement, may produce an earlier show, but undoubtedly will not foster plants so healthy or so hardy. *This* evil effect of the system, as it at present acts, has been seen and acknowledged by the German Professors, and they have endeavoured to avert it, by frequently and earnestly warning their students against such an accumulation of lectures, as allows no time for

subsequent reflection. Some also of their own eminent writers^c have bitterly lamented the character of slavish imitation, which this system has contributed to stamp upon a large portion of their nation. There is probably no people, among whom the mighty dead are so soon forgotten, or the great names of the present day so unduly exalted, as in Germany; none, probably, among whom the crude or faulty notions of individuals obtain for a time so extensive and pernicious a sway^d; and this, because the knowledge of the mass of each generation is derived, for the most part, *exclusively*, from living sources.

“Yet, although these evils shew the great and especial difficulty of rightly communicating theological knowledge—great in proportion to its importance and its eminence,—they arise too palpably from the peculiar character of the German system to be any ground of discouragement. It may, indeed, remain a question how far the catechetical system of instruction, which at present prevails at our Universities, and which is in some degree, though insufficiently, adopted by the German, should be in any degree exchanged for continuous delivery on the part of the Professors.

“For myself, I should think, that there are few

^c e. g. Lessing and Herder.

^d Prof. Vaughan (p. 61, note) quotes this from my *Evid.*, p. 30, to turn it against me, but overlooks that it refers to the Rationalist Professors, and their undue influence through their mode of teaching; which he says that I now speak of for the first time and for the occasion.

subjects in which the catechetical system is not the best calculated to call forth the energies of the mind, or promote its healthful independence. More good can be effected by correcting or enlarging the ideas, which the student may have himself framed, and thus leading him onward to further truths, or a deeper insight into things, than by any mass of information which may be imparted, or by any knowledge of the systems of other men. What he thus acquires, becomes his own. Equal information may also, at some slight expense of time, be imparted ; and a due respect and love for the treasures of old time which God has preserved to us, be most readily combined with the correction or the completion of what, as men, they may have left imperfect."

3. Professor Vaughan further thinks, that the whole question of the tendency of delivered lectures in Theology, is "thoroughly* beside the mark," "because the only part of the Professoriate which the Commission has not remodelled nor in any degree altered, is the Theological Professoriate ; it remains and is to remain in all important respects exactly what it has been."

Doubtless, if Bishops should hereafter be, (as until of late they always were,) consulted in the nomination of Divinity Professors, and if Divinity Professors should be able to stand against the tide of an altered system, the *general* recommendations of the Commissioners would not directly affect them. Even then, it would have been an evil, to transfer the

* p. 72—74.

election of two Divinity Professors from those whose duty it is to study Divinity, to a mixed Board, of which the majority were likely to be judges of talent, not of Divinity, and were ultimately nominees of the Prime Minister^f. But, wider than this, the change of a whole system does affect, more or less, every individual in the system, except so far as any one actively sets himself against it. “*Tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.*” The whole scheme of the Commissioners was one hot-bed of excitement. Every one was to draw on his neighbour. “An^g independent body” of students were to “excite the Colleges to greater exertion;” “the monopoly of teaching by the Colleges” was to be abolished, in order to make way for the Professorial system, and to remove “the apathy” of some Colleges; each College was to compete with its neighbour, drawing to itself as much of intellectual endowment and superior knowledge as, by unlimited competition, it could obtain out of the general stock; the qualities held, together with knowledge, in chief regard by our forefathers, that “students

^f Prof. Vaughan says, “If, according to the statements of Dr. Pusey, the crown of England appointed ‘solid’ Professors of Theology in England, at the very time when it was appointing shallow and dangerous Theological Professors in its German states, this of itself, perhaps, tends to shew, that appointments by the crown in England will not be perilous merely because they are perilous in Germany.” p. 76. I assigned in my Evidence a ground for the difference. In England, the advice of the Bishops used *always* to be had in the nomination of Theological Professors. (Evid., p. 124.) In Hanover, the Rationalists, Eichhorn and Pott, were appointed by the Prime Minister. (p. 28.)

^g Rep., p. 45.

should be of docile^b temper, good disposition, virtue," were unnoticed; intellectual qualifications were to hold the first place everywhere, if candidates but bore a respectable character; i. e. if they were not (for it comes in fact to this) openly immoral or irreligious. If any thought himself wronged in this, he was to have an appeal. Scholarships and Fellowships, like prizes, were the rewards of pure intellectual attainments¹. "An^k intermediate grade of lecturers was to serve the purpose of opening prospects of advancement to the Tutors, Collegiate and Private." "Professorships¹ were to be a stimulus to the Master, as the Fellowship is to the Undergraduates and Bachelors;" the Professors were to be incited to activity by the largeness of their classes, and by their "subordinate lecturers^m." Truly, in the midst of all this excitement and stimulus, a body of Theological Professors who should be content to lecture in stillness and repose upon the sacred subjects committed to them, in the

^b "In his eligendis volumus ut præcipue ratio habeatur docilis ingenii, bonæ indolis, doctrinæ, virtutis, et inopiæ." Statute given by Q. Eliz. to the Abbey of Westminster for the election of boys to the Foundation, and to studentships at Christ Church. Poverty is, I believe, not so disregarded as the Commissioners think.

¹ "If a College should notoriously adhere to its old rule of election, or if University distinctions should *prove beyond doubt the superiority* of the rejected Candidates, it might become necessary that the Visitor should have power to issue a Commission of Inquiry, and in case of need to reverse the election." Report, p. 169, 70. "University distinctions" *could not* "prove beyond doubt, the superiority of the rejected Candidate," unless intellectual attainments were *the* criterion.

^k Rep., p. 99.

¹ Prof. Vaughan, quoted, *ib.* p. 109.

^m Rep., p. 99, 108.

comparatively small classes required for good Catechetical instruction, would be an edifying sight.

We should have an office assigned to us, like that of Lucretius' philosopher".

"Sed nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena ;
Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
Errare, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ,
Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
Nocteis atque dies niti præstante labore
Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.
O miseras hominum mentes ! o pectora cæca !
Qualibus in tenebris vitæ quantisque periculis
Degitur hoc ævi, quodcumque est !"

But if the Professors maintained their even-minded earnestness, their pupils were to be stimulated. The demand for Theological lectures, lectures in Holy Scripture and the doctrines of the Gospel, were to arise out of an examination, which was to "prove an avenue to University distinctions and to be a recommendation to Scholarships." Melancholy indeed would it be for the University and for religion, if Students were hereafter to *cram* themselves with a knowledge of Holy Scripture, read the Divine words of our Lord, study the doctrines of the faith, lade themselves with proofs of the mystery of the Holy Trinity, the Divinity and Incarnation of our Lord, man's fall or restoration in and through His Redeemer,—not for his own soul's sake or of the glory of God or the well-being of His Church and people, but with a view to University distinctions, and as a recommendation to

Scholarships ; to gain the praise of man, and be exalted in his own eyes. When young men, trained under such a stimulus, were to become the Divinity Professors of the University of Oxford, it would be indeed time for the Church to seek to have the shepherds of Christ's flock formed in some other school.

The intellect, as Bishop Butler pointed out, has its trials as well as the moral powers of man. Pride of intellect or self-confidence is a more subtle evil than the coarser passions. People have justified intellectually the indulgence of their passions ; they *must*, by a moral necessity, if they give way to them. They *cannot* mistake as to the *existence* of their passions, or the fact that they give way to them. People *are* very commonly mistaken and ignorant as to their intellectual faults or sins. In our time, men continually do not seem to have a notion that the intellect too must be subdued to God. Within our memory, the late Archbishop of Canterbury, (when Bishop of London) was assailed with a torrent of censure from the intellectual press, because he insisted on " the *prostration* of the human understanding " before the revelation of God. His term expressed precisely the truth, that the human intellect must have no reserves of its own ; it must not make terms with God ; it must not receive all revelation except just the one point, perhaps, which it does not like, or which it cannot square with its own notions. Man must bow before the Majesty of God, and receive His law for his thoughts and

intellectual powers, as much as for his moral nature.

It is no disparagement to high intellect to say that it has its own special temptations. Powerful intellect has *its* temptations, as well as great physical powers, or great wealth. The temptations of the most powerful are the most powerful. I believe that this forcing-house for intellect, in which the plants are to draw one another up, each striving upwards for the light, produces an unhealthy growth. But I believe also that this preference of pure intellect overlooks the special temptations of intellect, and, by overlooking, fosters and aggravates them. If men are practically taught that cultivation of the intellect is the highest end, they are thereby even encouraged to neglect its correction, repression, subdual^o in things which are beyond its range. They are taught to cherish it, as if it were a pure good, and needed to be sharpened only, not to be refined. It is a fact that in France, (it is not I, but a distinguished French lay writer who says it,) "The University of France was extremely irreligious, particularly in the upper class of Professors:" it is a fact, again, that Professors in Germany actively promoted rationalism, which the pastors rarely did. I believe that the same ground will be found for both

^o Prof. Vaughan asks, p. 61, "Is Butler to close for ever the field of enquiry, because he had the sterling good sense and sagacity to stop, where it needed a greater genius to go forward?" Bp. Butler is suggestive in some directions, while he checks in others. But where he checks, the limits are placed by human ignorance, not by *his* want of "genius."

—not that there is any natural connection between Professorships and infidelity—but that, in both, pure intellect and the cultivation of it had become, (as it was in the Commissioners' scheme) the object of idolatry.

V. The fifth proposition attributed to me is, "*Professors are the cause of immorality in the Universities to which they are attached.*"

With regard to such a proposition, I should most entirely concur with Prof. Vaughan^p.

"It does appear a strange proposition to assert, that wherever Professors are well endowed, and constantly lecture and work, there must flourish also immorality and vice."

My statement was wholly different. So far from saying that "Professors were *causes* of immorality," I said distinctly "the *positive* evils are on the *intellectual* side of the professorial system. *Negatively*, the professorial system is wholly destitute of any moral training." I said, not "Professors," but "the professorial system." I spoke not of what they did, or "caused," but of what they did *not* do, and, on account of that system, *could* not do. The blame lay with the system, not with the individuals. The authorities of the University of Wittenberg, in a decree A. 1571, disowned the moral care of the young men sent to them, as any part of *their* office. "Hitherto," they say^q, "we can in no wise bring to pass, that students should not wander about without any fixed preceptor. We hear that some fathers

^p p. 81.

^q *Leges Witeberg*, i. 60, quoted *Evid.* p. 68.

are so simple as to think that our College^r and the public Professors can privately also have regard to individuals who are sent here. Which expectation, how unreasonable it is, all understand who either now live, or have lived, among collections of students." I explained fully what I meant. The characteristic of the "purely professorial system" is to make the lecture-room, and in *it*, delivered lectures, the staple of all instruction. Such a system excludes all idea of moral discipline and training; of the moral and religious influence of older and experienced minds over those yet unformed, in the period of life most perilous to morals and to faith; of the religious influences with which *our* youth are surrounded in the Colleges, and by which very many have benefited. My statement then is, not of course that "Professors are the cause of immorality in the Universities, to which they are attached," but rather "*it is very perilous to congregate young men together at the University without the protection of College discipline, which cannot and has not been in any way replaced in the professorial system.*"

Prof. Vaughan says, "the most trustworthy evidence of this singular statement, is the reason of the thing, drawn from the peculiar and necessary circumstances of the case."

The "reason of the thing" lies in the corruption of human nature, and the peril to which it is ex-

^r The word is used in the sense of "Society of Colleagues" not our College.

posed, in acquiring, through the grace of God, that great and noble power, to master itself, act for itself. It is the problem of all education, how the boy or youth is to pass from that safer period, during which he is under the check of parental, or quasi-parental care and superintendence, to the condition of the full-grown man, in which he must be left to govern and control himself. That transit, whenever it occurs, is the turning-point of life. It has, I believe, been found the wisest way to make the transition as gradual as may be, so that there should be no sudden shock, no swelling surf, which threatens to wreck at once the vessel launched into it. Hence the gradation of our smaller and larger schools, and then, our Colleges. At each step more freedom is allowed ; yet up to the close of the College-life such discipline is retained as suits the age of opening manhood. The effect of any outward discipline *must* be partial. This last period is, at once, the most perilous, and requires discipline the most delicate ; discipline, which must not press too much, must neither be, nor seem to be, arbitrary ; in which the laws or restrictions or (if need be) punishments, must as much as possible be obviously for the general good ; so that the well-disposed student should be willing to submit himself to them ; and one who fell, in any degree, under the direct discipline, should feel that it was reasonable. Such is, I believe, in the main, the discipline of our Colleges, tempered also mostly to the individual student by one to whom he may, if he will, stand in a relation

of friendship, his College-tutor. The discipline encircles the student, like his College-walls, unfelt, so long as he does not press himself against it. I can hardly imagine outward circumstances more favourable for the acquisition of self-mastery, at that turning-point of man's life, the first full developement of all the powers of mind and body, than the College-system will afford him, if he accept it willingly.

This protection of the young has been wholly abandoned in Protestant Germany, except at the one University of Tübingen; it was destroyed in France by the French Revolution, which swept away Universities and Colleges. The Commissioners recommended the introduction of a great extra-Collegiate system in Oxford, in which the students, lodging in the town as they pleased, should be free from "the monopoly of the Colleges" and College expenses, or (as I believe) College-economy. Being invited to offer my opinion on this plan, I shewed that it had been tried very extensively in Germany, and had failed.

The evidence which I adduced^a was drawn from accounts of the whole of Protestant Germany, both before and after the thirty years' war; from the complaints of men of all sorts, the early Professors at Wittenberg, or later Divinity Professors; the most practical writers of their day and the Pietists. I closed with the Ecclesiastical Historian, Schröckh, a layman, whose leanings were toward "a rational

^a Evid., p. 42—52.

theology." The evidence extended over two centuries and a half, from A. 1557—1807.

With regard to France, I gave some testimony[†] as to the religious and moral value of the Colleges; how the University itself bore witness, A. 1445, that during the civil wars it owed its very existence to its Colleges; how disorders, of which complaints were brought before the French Parliament, A. 1557, were shewn to have been committed "through" the teachers and scholars outside the Colleges, not through the *real scholars* studying in the Colleges. On this there was a royal edict, requiring all students who were not in the Colleges to enter them within six days or to leave Paris."

The French Revolution of 1789 swept away the Universities and Colleges, and since 1806 there has been "one^x University of France, exclusively empowered to educate the whole nation except the clergy." I gave the statement of probably the most distinguished and eminent of the religious laity of France, that "this University was extremely irreligious and anti-clerical, particularly in the upper classes of Professors;" that, "during twenty years, the Catholics of France struggled, in and out of Parliament, to destroy the monopoly of the University," and that "especially in order to save the young lay generation from the infection of infidelity." And now, on the religious ground, "every Bishop has his own lay college," to preserve the lay youth from the perils of the University.

[†] Evid., p. 51, 2.

[°] Ib., p. 52.

^x Ib., p. 62, 3.

Prof. Vaughan retorts the charge against the Colleges, and draws two vivid pictures of their supposed corruption. The first is taken from Meiners' account of the one University of Paris in the 15th century, and of the College of Navarre in the 14th ; the other is taken from the alleged condition of the one University of Ingolstadt, in Bavaria, A.D. 1562. It is a strange induction that some detached events, in the 14th and 15th centuries, in the one University of Paris, founded probably in the 12th, are to represent the whole character of all the Universities of France during their whole existence ; and that the more, since Paris was at that time one of the most corrupt capitals of Europe ; or that the condition of the one University of Ingolstadt, A.D. 1562, is to picture that of all the Universities and Colleges of Germany from the close of the 14th century, when Cologne (A. 1388) and Erfurt (A. 1392) were founded, to the present day.

Now it is to narrow the question *very* much to limit it to the Colleges of Paris. The University of Paris was most eminent, one of the most distinguished of Europe. But Paris, as a *Capital*, presented difficulties and temptations from which other Universities, in smaller or less corrupt cities, were free. There were among its inhabitants two great enemies to morality, dissoluteness and fierceness, which correspond with and aggravate two great trials of the young. To afford protection to morals in a corrupt Capital would certainly be the most signal success of Colleges ; but they would not be proved

to have failed, had they been only partially successful at Paris. Partial success, indeed, can be the only fruit of any human institutions; God Himself, in leaving scope for free-will, has allowed His own institutions to benefit a portion only of those for whose well-being He framed them.

Of French Universities, Toulouse^y was founded in 1228; Montpellier^z, 1289; Orleans^a, 1305; Cahors^b, 1332; Angers^c, 1364; Dol^d, 1426; Caen^e, 1431; Bourdeaux^f, 1441; Nantes^g, 1463; Bourges^h, 1465.

Of these, Toulouse had been a seat of learning before A. 1228, but till then had not a Theological Faculty. "Itⁱ was, of old, most flourishing through the exercise of all liberal arts, whence it was called the Palladian Toulouse." Of Orleans, Clement V. says, A. 1305, "the^k study of letters had of old flourished there laudably in both Canon and Civil, but especially the Civil Law, and was now flourishing again." Of Angers, it was said in a Royal Charter, A. 1373, that "of^l old, like a fountain of sciences, it was wont, as its natural produce, to provide men of deep counsel." Dol was "most^m flourishing A. 1484." Caen "hasⁿ been fertile in

^y Bul. iii. 120.

^z Ib. 488.

^a Ib. iv. 101, sq.

^b iv. 238.

^c iv. 381.

^d Hoffmann v. Dolensis.

^e By our Henry VI., confirmed at Paris, A. 1433. Moreri v. Caen. ed. ult.

^f The date of its restoration. Bourdeaux was in the possession of the English from 1153 to Charles VII. Moreri v. Bourdeaux.

^g Bul. iv. 661.

^h Id. 674.

ⁱ Bul. iii. 128.

^k Ib. iv. 102.

^l Ib. 381.

^m Hoffmann v. Dolensis.

ⁿ Moreri v. Caen, ed. ult.

men of letters, and especially in these latter centuries." Cahors was "celebrated^o for the learning of its Professors." "The^p University of Bourdeaux has been one of the most flourishing of antiquity. Charles VII. re-established it in its lustre. Pope Eugenius IV. gave it great privileges, and Louis XI. afterwards augmented them.

These had their Colleges. "Caen^a was composed of three Colleges." Of the Colleges of Toulouse Moreri says^r, "Henry II. established for the literæ humaniores two Colleges, which are perhaps the most flourishing in the kingdom, after those of the Capital. The first is that of the Esquile, built in 1556, which has had excellent masters. These the city replaced by the Fathers of Christian doctrine, who are not inferior to them. The other College, established in 1567, was given to the Jesuits, who made it very famous. The Professors of Rhetoric in both Colleges are persons, known for having carried off different prizes in the Academies. The number of scholars is very great; young people are sent from all quarters to be boarders; and some come from distant countries, Spain, Portugal, and even Italy. There are also several Colleges in which no instruction is given, and which are only founded to receive Students in Theology and Law during the space of five years. These Colleges, eight in number, are all situated near the Univer-

^o Id. v. Cahors.

^a Id. v. Caen.

^p Id. v. Bourdeaux.

^r v. Toulouse.

sity. The College of Foix was founded in 1457. It has had very distinguished pupils, such as the Cardinal d' Ossat, M. M. de Marca, de Bosquet, de Fenoillet, de Plantavit de la Pause, and the learned Baluzius."

Some of these Universities, like Orleans, may have had, in the cities in which they were situated, temptations not inferior to those of Paris. It would be a narrow view to condemn the Paris Colleges on such evidence as is here alleged; it would be narrow to condemn French Colleges on the ground of those of Paris, when there were other celebrated Universities in France.

But, apart from the meagreness of the data, the data themselves are mistaken. Either through narrowness of time or absence from the necessary books of reference, Professor Vaughan was unable to rectify the mistakes of Meiners. The supposed facts, which he has stated on Meiners' authority, establish nothing against the *Colleges*, while, as far as they go, some of them do militate against the plan suggested by the Commissioners, of "lodging-houses placed under the special superintendence of University officers." I had myself, in part, quoted them for that purpose.

The first picture is as follows: "I must" take leave to supply some particulars which are herein omitted, and also to correct some statements which are here^t made. So early as the 14th century, *Colleges had been called into existence indirectly by*

^t p. 83—6.

^t In my evidence.

the great public lecturers of the middle age. The genius of men, such as Irnerius and Abelard, summoned all the youth of Europe to listen, in the great corrupt capitals of France and the south. This sudden influx of students by thousands, in such a condition of private property as there prevailed, raised the price of lodgings enormously, and the poorer students were driven to hard straits by the competition of the rich. To remedy this evil, and to preserve the simple and the young from the coarser temptations of the capitals, benevolent men built Colleges for the reception of the indigent students, where they might find lodgings without expense, and tutors who would overlook their moral condition. These institutions for a short season, and with a circumscribed operation, answered their purpose. They were, however, very commonly corrupted by the Heads and Tutors within a few years from their first institution. Those who were appointed tutors and teachers purchased their posts and received no salaries, but drew their profits out of the property of the Colleges and the slender means of students. Trades were set up and practised within College walls, and by the Tutors themselves. The Heads of Houses conspired with each other against the students, by meeting together and fixing extravagant prices for the food and lodging and instruction which were given. Having done this, they counter-plotted each other by going round through the streets and haunting low inns and ale-houses, in which they cajoled the strange, idle, and

unwary students, to take up their abode within the College walls. With their chambers, and their tables, and their lecture-rooms, thus filled, they feared to scare those commoners away again by discipline of any kind. They charged enormously for foul, insufficient nourishment. The instruction was of the most perfunctory kind. It consisted merely in dictation of the text of authors ; and the teachers often handed over their manuscripts to some student, who read them aloud to his fellows. The Tutors, being Masters in the University, conducted the examinations with scandalous partiality—plucking the men of other Colleges without reason, and grossly favouring their own men. Their inmates carried arms about the town, slept out at night, and committed such atrocities that the University was compelled to interfere often with the interior discipline of the Houses, and passed laws forbidding the use of arms, and requiring the Heads to visit the chambers of the students every evening, and to flog the absentees. Throughout the 15th century, statutes were often made under the authority of the University, the Church, and the State, against these abuses. Commonly they failed.”

It is admitted in this statement, that Colleges were founded, in part, for the protection of youth “from the coarser temptations of the great corrupt Capitals.” It is allowed, that “for a short season, they answered their purpose,” but it is contended, that they were “*very commonly corrupted by the Heads and Tutors within a few years from their*

first institution.” The sole evidence for this “very common” occurrence is a mistake made by Meiners as to the *one* College of Navarre. There is no other even seeming evidence. Professor Vaughan’s account of the College of Navarre is, “The” College of Navarre itself, which furnished a bright exception in many ways, and stimulated or countenanced others to a similar condition by its example, tended apparently to the same corruptions, but was saved by the powers and activity of the Crown of France, which issued its first orders, checking malpractices and laying down fresh and needful laws for this College, within seventeen years after its first foundation.”

It “eventually” flourished both in discipline and studies, and admitted and favoured the introduction of classical literature, on the so called revival of learning, and was an example to other institutions. It had been founded A. 1304, by Jeanne, Queen of France; and so early as 1321 Royal Orders were issued to check malpractices, and to prevent their recurrence by positive laws.”

The Royal Orders of 1321 are a letter of Philip V. of France, in which he “explained” in what sense some of the laws of the College were to be taken.” The very document however, attests, not the *corruption*, but the *care* of the authorities of the College. Disorders there had been among some of the Students; but the authorities had already

’ p. 86. * Ib. note. ’ Launoy Academ. Paris. Illustr. T. i. p. 52.

enquired into them, and the king praises "their^a diligence and circumspect providence as to this so pious and laudable work." The orders for the future are, in fact, the royal sanction of rules framed, in virtue of the Royal Mandate, by those very authorities, "the Abbot of S. Denys and the Dean of S. Quentin, the Governor of the house of Scholars." The king enjoins that "those only should be re-admitted, or admitted anew, to the benefit of the said house, who, on examination made, or to be made, should appear to be true and good Scholars, of good morals, peaceful and apt to profit, according to the intention of the Foundress, expelling those who shall have been found to be contentious, disturbers of the peace, warlike, of ill repute, not profiting or obeying, wearing arms, or unwilling to keep the statutes of the said house." The risks of corruption were not from those within, but from those without, who had access to the king. For in enjoining the observance of the statutes framed by the College, he enjoins them to disobey letters counter to them, even if they purported to come from himself^a. The

^a "We require and command you, that as to the correction and direction of those things in the condition of the said house and the persons thereof, which are said to need correction and direction, and which *through an inquest lately, as we have heard, made by you*, have been found worthy of correction; ye shall so proceed, that for the diligence and circumspect providence already exhibited, as to this so pious and laudable work, and so often as need shall be, to be diligently exhibited, ye may deserve to be commended." *Ib.*

^a "Those ordinances, which are said to have been lately made by you, as we have heard, viz. &c., as being just and reasonable, we will and praise, and by the tenor of these presents, approve; and we will

only blame implied in the letter, was that some Scholars had been placed in the College, contrary to the mind of the Foundress; these the king directs to be removed. Launoy, the Historian of the College, sums up the Mandate. "Thus^b, (wrote) Philip V. king of France, than which nothing is more memorable to testify his good will towards the College."

Professor Vaughan continues his account. "These and the general reforms instituted throughout the University, to which I have already alluded, answered their purpose to the commencement of the fifteenth century, when they began to lose their effect; and the institution again declined in the observance of statutes and the maintenance of discipline till the year 1458, when it was again formally visited by the Crown, and new laws were introduced and the old laws were enforced."

The first of these "general reforms of the University" occurs at the beginning of the fifteenth century, A. 1421, and consequently could "answer" no "purpose" as to the College of Navarre in the fourteenth; to which College moreover, as we shall see, they did not relate. Again, so far from

that they, together with the other statutes and ordinances framed by the Foundress &c., be observed entire by all who receive the benefits of the said house, and that those who will not observe them should, as premised, be wholly expelled from the house. Nor do we will, that under the pretext of any letters whatever obtained from us, under any form of words soever, you or any other, holding the rule of the said house, should be induced in any way whatsoever to act against the aforesaid ordinances, since we will that they be kept firm and unimpaired." *Ib.*, p. 54.

^b *Ib.*, p. 55.

“*gradually* declining until the year 1458 ;” it will appear from the documents themselves, that the irregularities, such as they were, had only been dated from sixteen or twenty years, and were owing to the destructive civil wars between the houses of Burgundy and Orleans. But more of this in its place. Professor Vaughan’s first evidence is of A. 1321 ; so there is a gap of 137 years to be filled up before 1458.

Meantime, Launoy will supply some facts, illustrating the real condition of the College in this period. If it had eminent men for its Masters and Theologians, if the discipline of the house was good, if it is praised by those deserving of praise, few probably will think, that it was only to Royal Edicts that it owed its well-being.

When Pope John XXII. was accused of heresy as to the intermediate state, and “the^c minds of many in France were troubled, King Philip assembled the Theologians of Paris.” “Some out of the College of Navarre, and especially the Chancellor of Paris, were eminent among them.”

“In^d the next decennium three Masters in Theology were Rectors of the College ;” the third was “Nicolas Oresmius, who by his virtue and learning extended far and wide the fame of the College.” Oresmius was eminent for his knowledge of Philosophy, Political Science, Mathematics, Theology^e. He was a strict rebuker of sin, when preaching at

^c Ib., c. 7, p. 61.

^d c. 9, p. 69.

^e Ib. ii. c. i. p. 428.

Avignon before Urban V. and his Cardinals'. "It is to his praise and that of the College, that King John gave him his son Charles V. to teach, who, formed in the school of such a preceptor, obtained with truth the title of 'the wise.'"

A. 1369. The University of Paris attests that there was in the College of Navarre, "a very great multitude of Students," and rests a decree in its favour upon its eminence in doctrinal study, its labors, and other praiseworthy acts. "We think it meet" they say^b, "as agreeable to reason and approved writings, to distribute our graces and honours and lawful favours to those chiefly, who illumine, continue, consolidate, and support, our University of Paris with their doctrinal studies, unceasing toils, and praiseworthy acts, that they may be animated and bound the more strictly to unwearied continuance in the same, and that others allured thereby, may flow in more abundantly to study."

Towards the close of the century the celebrated Cardinal de Alliaco was one of its Masters; the pious Chancellor Gerson was first a Fellow, afterwards Master of the College.

"At the commencement of the fifteenth century," Professor Vaughan says, "they [the Royal Edicts] began to lose their effect."

Nicolas de Clamengis, who entered¹ the College at the age of 12, and was educated there by Machet,

^a Cave, tit. Nic. Oresm. A. 1361.

^b Laun. l. c.

¹ Launoy cap. de Nic. Clameng., p. 558.

^b Ib., p. 73.

nominatissimus in paucis, and by Gerson, “enkindled with pious zeal for souls, best guide and leader in the heavenly journey,” will be an unexceptionable witness as to its condition. For writers who gather together descriptions of the decay in the Church generally, draw very largely from him, as being an uncompromising rebuker of sin and corruption, wherever they were found. Cave describes him, as “a man of sincere piety, an intrepid censor and rebuker of bad princes, who scourges severely the schism, ambition and vices of Pontiffs, the defilement and avarice of ecclesiastics, the laziness, luxury, and immorality of monks, the dissoluteness of all ranks^k. Yet he, the stern rebuker of sin, when sending his sister’s son to his own College, says that^l “from the praiseworthy instruction and most approved morals of that scholastic house, his parents hope that no common fruit will result to him during his whole life.” A. 1411. In rebuking Reginald Fontanus, who, by disputing the mastership with Ralph de Porta^m, introduced dissension into the College, he speaks of it as “aⁿ house of peace and tranquillity,” “that most peaceful house, wherein, up to this time they lived with one mind, one soul, one most friendly brotherhood.” “Widely as that pestilence of discord had spread, the loving mercy of Christ had hitherto kept this house, consecrated to Himself, free from such a

^k Script. Eccl. A. 1416. He was called “a lamp of the Church;” see others in Laun. l. c. p. 147—50.

^l Ep. 123 in Launoy ii. 2, T. 1, p. 429.

^m Bulæus iv. 97.

ⁿ Ep. 94, ad Reg. Fontan. ap. Laun. l. c.

pestilence; *there* was peace, *there* concord, there love and brotherhood." He calls it, "that excellent College, most flourishing through wondrous peace and tranquillity."

The pious Gerson, of whom, in the Council of Constance, the Cardinal of Florence said^o "he is so super-excellent a doctor, as can scarcely be found in the whole of Christendom," before A. 1415, calls his College of Navarre, "the^p venerable, famed, excellent, College;" its teachers he calls "most learned and wise men;" in 1420 he says, that "it has no peer^q, and is consecrated to sound wisdom."

At the beginning of this century, scholars not on the foundation were admitted to the education of the College. "They had," says Launoy^r, "a common dwelling, common masters, common instruction, and one enduring rivalry in virtue and diligence in the highest studies." Gerard Machet, Bishop of Castres, governor of the College, who "with^s Clamengis was one of the distinguished disciples of Gerson," attests its condition A. 1430-45. "Grateful to me," he says^t, "is mention of that institution, which we have seen framed and built up of so many living stones. I speak of men, after the image of God, heroic, grave, true patterns of life and morals, whose memory is blessed." He speaks of it as "standing and enduring firm." The very name calls forth in him "the memory of that sacred house,

^o Launoy, l. c. p. 431.

^p Carm. Lug. 20.

^q Ib. ii. 6, p. 142.

^r Serm. 2. de S. Ludov. 20.

^s ii. 1. p. 105.

^t Ib., p. 432, 3.

in which we dwelt together, fed with the king's bread, where we saw so many fathers, so many men excellent in life, from whom we might, but for our own fault, have gathered examples of conversation and virtues. I joy to dwell on that most holy habitation, in which we were cherished with such peace and quiet of mind, walking with one mind and one and the same spirit in the house of God," and to another", "where we gathered together the sweet fruits of learning." He admits a youth with all care, on testimony that "he is found apt and meet for so deep and profound a teaching, which, as thou knowest, together with an elevated genius, requires good morals."

Not, then, on account of any gradual "decline," but, (as Launoy expressly says^x), "through the vicissitudes of the times and the injuries of the wars," A. 1458, it, in some respects, needed a reformation. The reform itself was delayed for 6 years, until A. 1464, "either," Launoy says^y, "because all minds were intent on expelling Henry king of England from the realm, or because the king died."

Some reforms were needed. Happy, happy, institution it would be in this world of sin, which should be exempt from all the infirmities of our fallen, though restored nature. Yet so far from being "corrupted by the *heads*," (as Mr. Vaughan says of these institutions,) whatever need there was

^x The first letter is to a Bishop of Troyes; the 2nd to a Prior of the Celestines.

^y Ib. c. 8. p. 165.

^y p. 168.

of reform was entirely *below*. King Charles VII. enumerates, in his commission, the classes who had broken the rules. They are; “*some*”, (nonnulli) of the theological *students* (Bursarii); some masters and students in arts and grammar; and Chaplains or Clerks of the Chapel.” Accordingly, there are none of the higher orders of the College.

But, further, “what are the offences?” Not moral offences. “*The Chaplains and Clerks of the Chapel*, founded in the said house, are frequently guilty of many failures^a as to the divine office, to which they are bound.” Of course, this was wrong. It is spoken of as a defect, and corrected as such. Yet, considering that the “divine office, to which they are bound,” involved the office for Holy Communion every day, and the prayers for the seven Canonical hours, besides the Nocturns or Matins, there may have been much non-attendance, without yet involving a degree of indevotion, for which *we* could blame them very severely.

To proceed. Against “the said *Masters of the Artists and grammar-boys*,” it is in fact alleged, that they admitted non-Foundationers, to a greater extent than the College could hold, had made an opening in the College-wall in order to admit boys who lodged in boarding-houses of their own, outside; much as if Oriel College, e.g., were to make an opening to connect St. Mary Hall with it; or at most, as

^a In Launoy, p. 166.

^a Defectus. It appears from the Commission of Louis XI., where the same word is used, that they were absences.

if Brasenose or All Souls were to take in some of the houses adjoining ; any how, a much less irregularity than the permission given by Colleges in Cambridge to many of their Students, to lodge in the town. However, this relaxation of the special Collegiate character had worked ill. Discipline had been relaxed, and "the aforesaid Students and Scholars, at least, in great part, did not much progress in knowledge, virtues, and discipline of manners." Again, the charges against the Students are not very heavy. "They had not made progress."

The reforms^b made accordingly by the Commissioners of Louis XI. in A. 1464 further illustrate this ;

1. In order that the *Scholars* should be under greater discipline, there should be for ordinary purposes, only one gate, to keep which night and day, a porter had been appointed and endowed.

2. The keys of the street gates of all the particular Colleges or Communities of the said College, were to be kept by the Master ; the Masters of the Students in arts and grammar being however allowed to have the key of the back-gate, under promise to use it only *for themselves*, or to let in provisions. The fear then of irregularity was not as to the Masters.

3. "To remove the excessive multitude of non-Bursal Scholars, which produces confusion and great inconvenience, even to the destruction of morals, knowledge, and the buildings of the College,

^b Launoy, p. 170—6.

the opening of the wall shall be blocked up, which the master of the grammar-boys had made about twenty or sixteen years ago, that the non-Bursal Scholars might come from his own private and purchased houses to the Collegiate-house; and this, in order that the College may be restored to the condition in which it was, when most flourishing."

It appears, accordingly, that the defect of discipline had been of some twenty or sixteen years standing only.

The other provisions are, that no non-Bursal Scholar or stranger was to sleep within the College-walls, nor live there without leave from the Master; that the Masters of students in grammar and arts were to pay to the College forty-eight sous yearly for every non-Bursal scholar; that the Master and under-Master of the grammar boys were to sleep in the room with them; instruct the said boys diligently in morals and learning; provide for them fitting meat and drink, giving them nothing but what was wholesome and convenient, and withal, enough; they were also to provide cups and porringers enough, and other necessities for the table; the grammar-boys were to have clean table-cloths twice in the week.

The boys were not to play in the cloister or cloister-garden, that they might not disturb others' studies, or break the glass; non-Bursal scholars were not to take the seats of the Bursal, who were bound to be present at the Divine office on Sundays and festivals. The under-Master was to have an écu for

instructing every boarder *magnæ portionis*, and sixteen Paris. *sous* for each *parvæ portionis*.

As to those in the faculty of Arts, the Master and under-Master were to lecture ordinarily, and to hear lessons and disputations in their own persons.

“Also, that the gravity or decorum of the presence of the Master and under-Master at the hour of refection at table may produce grave and more decorous manners in the minds of the scholars, we ordain that at dinner and supper they shall frequently take their meals, or at least assist, in the common hall.” The Commissioners of Louis XI. certainly did not expect the students to be “corrupted by their Heads and Tutors.”

“Also, because out of neglect or omission to visit the chambers by night, as was done of old, scholars are found sometimes to wander about at night, or waste their time in play, without the fruit of study, the said Master and under-Master shall be bound to visit the chambers of the said scholars at least twice in the week, according to the custom laudably observed of old.”

“Let the Foundationers in Arts, those especially who are studying philosophy and logic, be present at Matins, and the Divine Office on Sundays and festivals.”

“Also, to take away all licence or excesses and waste of time from dancing, the Master of the students in arts and grammar shall not allow musicians^c to come at any Feast, save perhaps at the Epiphany,

^c Mimos, so Du Cange : or “actors.”

according to ancient custom, and in no feast shall they sing or dance beyond 4 o'clock ; nor shall any wear arms, nor any, armed, be received from without in the house, on account of the scandals and perils which have happened *this year especially*."

"They shall never allow the scholars to play more than twice in the week. And at play-time they shall take care, by themselves or others, that none of the scholars fall into any disgraceful act, and they shall, as far as possible, hinder the noise of those playing in the College, lest others be disturbed."

Such are the reforms as to morals. There are two other rules ; 1. about some petty fees, two sous, or at most an écu ; 2. about a payment made by one elected *Rex fabæ*, and forbidding the play, Election of Emperor.

A student in grammar was not to board in the College of the student of arts, nor conversely.

No foundationer was to be presented to be examined for a license without the consent and approbation of the Master of the College, that thereby foundationers may attend more diligently to their study and progress.

For the reformation of Theologians, it was ordained that they were not to eat in their own rooms ; they were to be present at the Divine Offices on Sundays and Festivals, and those were not to be accounted as present who, at the time of the Divine Office, shall walk or talk in the nave of the Chapel.

A small fine was set, if they were not present or

took no part in the Theological disputations, or if any refused the collation annually appointed to him by the Master of the College. Pertinacious refusal to attend involved loss of the scholarship.

Lastly, *the Chaplains and Clerks* were to observe the statute, whereby they are bound daily on festivals and non-festivals, to be present at Matins, Mass, and the other hours of the Divine Office, and duly to celebrate the Divine Office itself. Absentees were to be marked down, and reported to the Master ; and any fines for absence to be divided.

Now in all this reformation, there is no very grave imputation in detail, even as to the younger members, neither the boys, nor the young students. Relaxation of rule there had been, and consequent idleness. The boys on the foundation had received detriment from intercourse with non-Collegiate boys ; a testimony the more, as to the ordinary good conduct of the College. There may have been some little penuriousness on the part of the Master of the grammar-school ; and yet, when the "reform" goes down to the number of clean table-cloths to be given in the week to the grammar-boys, "because on account of the number they are sooner soiled and spotted," it will not readily be supposed that any graver matter was passed over.

Louis XI. himself, in his Diploma^d in the same year, A. 1464, attests the benefits at that time derived from the College. "From it have come forth no few celebrated and lettered men, by whose vir-

^d Launoy, p. 179.

tues and learning our realm *now flourishes*, and of old flourished, to the praise of God, and the extension and very great exaltation of the orthodox faith."

Joh. Raulin, who became a monk at Cluny, was "Great Master" there, A. 1480—90. He congratulates his successor, Lud. Pinella (Master A. 1490—1503) "on^e the great fame and exaltation of the College; its increase." Yet he says, "I left it not empty, but abounding in learned men." To others^f he speaks of it as "that great College, celebrated throughout the whole Roman Church;" "that most chaste and religious house." He says again to Pinella^g, "My mind is mightily gladdened, hearing of the increase of your College, and of the things which add to its beauty and exaltation."

The touching thanksgiving of Chancellor Bousard for the refuge which it had afforded him in the great Babylon of Paris, falls within the same period. He came up as he says, "a youth^h of seventeen, to that renowned city of Paris, most celebrated throughout the world for its vices and its letters." This was in 1456, two years before the date when it is supposed that its decay was only repaired by royal edicts. Boussard, a man, it is saidⁱ, "of very acute mind, great eloquence, re-

^e Ep. 13. ad Lud. Pinel. in Launoy, p. 434.

^f Ep. 15, ad custod. Basil. Eccl. Ep. 38, ad Laur. Burell. Ib., p. 435.

^g Ep. 32. ad Lud. Pin. Ib.

^h Launoy, P. 3. L. 3. c. 8. p. 624.

ⁱ By Nicol. Hosius Remens., and Franc. a Cruce Cenomann. Ib., p. 625.

markable wisdom, rare learning, and skilled in languages," in the review of his life before God, refers, when fourscore^k years old, to the blessings of its early training. "It^l [Paris] is Babylon itself, where first, through Thy gift, Thou leddest me to Thy noble house of Navarre; Thy house, I say, in that, holy and holily chaste, it ceases not to cherish for Thee young plants, which bring forth fruit in their season, and, spreading far and wide in the world, give light to the whole world."

"It is the Emporium of letters, the specimen of all virtues, the holy house of prayer, *the pillar of holiness, the home of chastity*: what should I say more? the seed-plot of all goods which the whole world contains. O how many have I seen in her, and known to go forth from her, renowned and holy men, holily serving Thee [our Lord] who now, partly, of their own will, retired within the enclosure of monasteries, *partly illumining different lands with their doctrine and holiness*, cease not, on all sides, to produce other children to Thee. Many yet survive; many also, having finished their course, rest in Thy bosom, whom, if I should attempt to recount, time and parchment would fail me."

Launoy quotes similar panegyrics, extending throughout the greater part of the sixteenth century. Judocus Clictoveus, a learned controver-

^k The Prayer to our Lord, prefixed to his Commentary on the seven Penitential Psalms, was written and printed A. 1519. See Cave and Launoy, l. c. p. 629, who prints the whole Preface.

^l P. 2. c. 3. T. i. p. 437—54.

sialist, A. 1507, calls it "this^m most flourishing house of Navarre, the most fruitful nurse of men most literate, and ever blessed with a manifold offspring." Jac. Merlin speaks of "its" most vigilant Masters and Students." Rob. Goulet says, A. 1517, "the° College of Navarre contains a countless multitude of studious Doctors, Masters, Regents and Scholars." Gul. Budæus, the celebrated Philologist and Antiquarian, says, A. 1520, of this and the Sorbonne together: "Now^p the two porches of orthodoxy, the Sorbonne and Navarre, and as it were, the two most renowned oracles of Philosophical Theology, have, wherever the bounds of the Christian name extend, given to Latin and Attic wisdom, not only a place where to reside, but also where she may speak among those who discuss." Petrus Mommatra^q speaks of many of the College of Navarre taking the monastic habit at Cluny, which certainly implies no laxity. The Theological faculty of Paris A. 1521, speak of "the^r most famous College of Navarre." Joh. Ravis Textor says of the Foundress, "she^s first established that receptacle and emporium of all discipline. For from it there went forth well-nigh countless men, most distinguished for learning and life, who illumined not Gaul only, but the whole

■ Orat. de B. Ludov. p. 4. Ib., p. 438.

■ Apol. Orig. Ib. 439.

° Compend. de magnif. Univ. Paris. Ib.

^p de Stud. literar. recte instit. Ib., p. 440.

^q Ib.

^r Ib. 441.

• Elog. de Joanna Reg. Ib.

world, with most beautiful rays of virtue ;” “ whose bare names would amount to a very large volume. Nor does that exhaustless and unfailing fountain of virtues cease to gush forth even until now. Thence rivers daily flow which enrich the Christian religion. The fame thereof being celebrated everywhere, all, both barbarians and foreigners, much more our countrymen, flow thither in troops, to receive the cultivation of their minds. So that, most numerous as are the chambers of the House, they suffice not for the guests, who come to the rivers of water. The eye-witnesses of this cease to wonder.”

Joachim Perionius, A. 1549, in dedicating a work to the Cardinal of Guise, speaks of it, as “ having[†] ever been distinguished by *good discipline* and pure doctrine.” John Docæus, Bishop of Laon, calls it facile princeps of the schools in the University of Paris ; Corrozet says, A. 1562, “ from[‡] this house there have issued countless men of first distinction.” Forcatulus, a lawyer of Toulouse, A. 1579, that it was “ inferior^{*} to none.” Joh. Cotereus, a Paris Theologian, that “ it is most celebrated[‡], not only for elegant learning, but also for the Divine which is there taught.” Laur. Burceretus, Rector of the Academy, speaks of its “ excellent education and strict discipline.” “ No[‡] city,” he says, A. 1584, “ in the whole world was founded more carefully than that illustrious noble school of studious youth, and large assembly of very learned men.

[†] Ib. 444. ^{*} Antiq. Paris. Ib. [‡] de illustr. fem. Ib. 447.

[‡] Concion. dedic. Ib. ^{*} Orat. 25. Ib. 447, 8.

For they who are set over this school, so perform their office; they use such diligence and forethought in their acts, that they will ever win praise to themselves, honour to the Academy, benefit to the State. All things in this Royal College of Champagne^a are dispensed, ruled and administered with such singular order, so great modesty, such decorous bashfulness, that whoso shall ever so little have observed the decorous rules of the discipline of this school, would be wholly ignorant of those things, which, in other schools, are thought to be inevitable. Most wisely indeed hath it been ordered by the very diligent rulers of this royal house, that no one should be admitted to hear lectures, unless he were residing in the College itself, lest through the daily and untoward meeting, association, and haughty insolence of those who go up and down in the city, the strict institution of discipline of those most upright and holy Students of Champagne, should be corrupted and contaminated. So great is the adornment of this College, such its beauty and comeliness, that in it, Royal Princes, illustrious Dukes, Cardinals, Bishops, and all the rest of the noble and studious youth of all Gaul were trained, thoroughly taught, and formed in the soundest conversation.”

Jac. Amboise, Physician to the king, says, A. 1594, of those of Clermont; “As^b for the explanation of catechisms and hymns, sermons on the

^a Campanorum. Its Foundress was Countess Palatine of Champagne and Brie. Diplom. in Launoy, p. 7. ^b cont. Clerm. Orat. i. Ib. 448.

articles of faith and on the mode of confession, and other exercises of Christian religion, and whatever they have worthy of praise, have they not borrowed them from the ancient institutes of our Royal Navarre?"

Andr. Favinus, a Paris Pleader, A. 1612, says, that it was "ever° a fruitful seminary of most learned men in Theology, Philosophy, and the profession of the liberal Arts."

I will only add, that Launoy assigns a second volume of his work to an account of those members of the College of Navarre, who were most eminent for learning and holiness, distributed into two classes, according as they left writings or no. The first chapter contains "the life or eulogy of 134 writers, with an index of their works;" the second, "the eulogy of 163 Doctors, who were eminent for their well-spent life."

Such are the testimonies in behalf of the College of Navarre, spreading over three centuries from its foundation, A. 1304 to A. 1612, which is the date of the last testimony quoted by Launoy. The evidence would plainly be much fuller, if I could enter into the details of some of the eminent men who issued from this one College.

But I know not whether such visitations as those of A. 1321, and 1458, at distances of nearly a century and a half, do not speak more in favour of the College than any panegyrics. The first reformation related only to some students of ill life, who had first

been corrected by the authorities of the College. The second, occurring as it did after those fearful civil wars, discovered nothing amiss in the life of the elders; but frequent non-attendance of the Chaplains at some of the nine daily services, too great an accumulation of Oppidans, who injured the discipline of the College, and this only on the part of certain Masters of Arts and teachers of Grammar-boys. These very irregularities dated back only sixteen or twenty years. Of the value of the College *at that very time*, we have the testimony of the king, who issued the Commission. It must indeed have been a noble College, whose defects, as brought out by investigations, were, during three centuries, only such as these.

But the College of Navarre, although eminent, was not alone. The College of the Sorbonne has been already mentioned^d. It was founded A. 1250, by a Canon of Paris, from whose village birth-place, Sorbonne, after the death of its founder, it received its name^e. “By^f the rules of the Foundation, it appears that there were from the beginning, Doctors, Bachelors on the foundation and not on the foundation, and poor students, as at this day (1777). It is certain that the number of foundationers has never been fixed and determined, but was larger or smaller in proportion to the revenues of the Col-

^d In the Panegyric by Budæus, above, p. 102.

^e Crevier, Hist. de l' Univ. de Paris, i. 494, 5.

^f Ladvocat, v. Sorbonne. Bulæus, and those who follow him, say that it was only founded for sixteen poor scholars at first.

lege. The rules presuppose in several articles that the first *Sorbonnists* were above 30."

Not having access at this time, to the fullest history of the Sorbonne^g, I will add some extracts from the Abbé Ladvocat. Yet the fact, that the name of the Sorbonne came to stand for the whole Theological Faculty of Paris, in itself bears witness to its eminence. After mentioning the actual foundation of the College, Ladvocat proceeds; "He^h then gathered together able professors; he chose from amongst the Scholars those who seemed to him to be the most religious and best disposed, and lodged his community in the Rue des Deux Portes, opposite the Palais des Thermes. Such was the origin of the famous College of Sorbonne, which has served as a model to all other Colleges; for before that time, there was no community in Europe where the secular clergy lived and taught in common. His foundation had two objects, theology or the study of religion, and the arts. Theology was his first object, and he wished his College to be principally destined for the glory of religion. He composed it of doctors and bachelors of divinity."—"He ordered that none should be admitted a member of his College, but guests and fellows, *Socii et Hospites*, allowing them to be admitted from any country and any nation whatsoever."—"In order to be a guest, *Hospes*, the person must first be a bachelor; secondly, defend a thesis, called after

^g Duvernet Hist. de la Sorbonne.

^h Dict. Hist. Port. inserted in Moreri Dict. ed. ult.

his name, Robertine, and be received by a majority of votes in three separate scrutinies.”—“In order to be a fellow, *Socius*, he must, besides the Robertine, and the three scrutinies of a guest, read gratuitously a course of lectures in philosophy, and pass through two other scrutinies.”—“At the end of seven years those who had been admitted were examined carefully ; and if any one was found unable to teach or to preach, or to be useful to the public in some other important way, he was deprived of his Fellowship.—Robert de Sorbonne did not wish to exclude the wealthy from his College. On the contrary he was anxious to give them a taste for study, and to restore scientific knowledge among the clergy ; which made him provide for the admission of fellows, who should not be exhibitioners, *Socii non Bursales*. They were to attend the same examinations, and go through the same exercises as Fellow Exhibitioners. — He allowed the doctors and the bachelors to receive poor scholars, to whom he intended that the house should be of some advantage. This custom still remains : *and a great number of these poor scholars became afterwards very distinguished men*. The first professors of Sorbonne were William de Saint Amour, Odo de Douay, Gerard de Reims, Laurence, an Englishman, Geraud d’ Abbeville, etc. They gave instruction in divinity gratuitously, according to the intentions of the founder ; and since the year 1253, to this day, there have always been at least six professors, who have taught the different parts of

divinity gratuitously, even before the professorships of divinity were founded. Exhibitions were given to those amongst the professors who were poor. Robert de Sorbonne was also desirous that there should always be in his College, doctors who should devote themselves especially to the study of morals, and who should resolve cases of conscience: so that ever since, the College of Sorbonne has been consulted from all parts of the kingdom, and has spared no pains to meet the confidence of the public. He applied himself to make learning and religion flourish in his College, and he succeeded. In a short time there issued from it eminent Theologians, who spread its reputation throughout Europe¹. Far different from other founders, who first of all make rules, and afterwards set themselves to have them observed, he only made his statutes after having governed the College for more than eighteen years, and prescribed only such rules as he had already established there, and the use and wisdom of which, long experience had shewn him. *Hence there has never been any question of reform or change in Sorbonne.* All goes on there according to the ancient customs and ancient statutes; and the experience of five centuries has

¹ The most renowned Doctors of Theology have made the course of their studies in this College of Sorbonne. In it the general disputations took place from June 29 to Nov. In these the Respondent holds his ground from 5 A.M. till evening, against all the Bachelors of Theology. This exercise came in, A. 1515. "An undertaking formidable to those who have not tried; but which has hitherto endangered no one's health." (Genebr. Chronogr.) De Breuil, Théâtre des Antiq. de Paris, p. 620.

shewn that the constitution of the house of Sorbonne is perhaps the most perfect of its kind that can be imagined. In truth, none of the Colleges, since founded, have maintained such order and such glory, although it was thought necessary to place in them, superiors and principals to maintain the statutes, as it seemed inconceivable that a Society, of which all the fellows were on an equal footing amongst themselves, and were without Superior or Principal in their College, should continue in a flourishing state for several centuries. Robert de Sorbonne, after having placed his College on a solid foundation as respects divinity, added to it another College for the liberal sciences, and for the study of philosophy. He bought for this purpose, from William de Cambrai, a canon of St. John de Maurienne, a house near to the College of Sorbonne, and founded there in 1271, the College of Calvi. This college, since known as *the lesser Sorbonne*, became *very celebrated for the great men who were educated there*. De Breuil says "In^k this College are very good exercises, for which those of the Sorbonne send good regents."

A. 1646 and 1647, the College founded by, and named after the virtuous du Plessis, A. 1323, was placed under its superintendence. "This union," Crevier says¹, "was happy for the College du Plessis, which thenceforth was always in a flourishing condition." Bulæus says, that Queen Jeanne was encouraged to found the College of Navarre, "es-

^k ii. 274, 5.

¹ l. c. p. 625.

pecially^m by the example of M. Robert of Sorbonne, whose house was now (seventy-four years after its foundation) flourishing exceedingly in the exercise of letters." De Breuil relates that "Raoul de Harcourt," the founder of the College of that name, "took" great pleasure in seeing the different foundations of Colleges and houses of study, erected in his time at the University, and almost all on the model of that of Sorbonne, which having been founded about 40 years before, had already produced celebrated men who served the country greatly."

Yet these are great and celebrated Colleges. Buelæus will furnish a statement, not less strong, of one less known, the College of Laon. It was founded A. 1313, under the title "*Collegium Prællæo-Laudunæum*" by a Canon of Laon, and a king's clerk from Prayles, for the support of poor Scholars from the Diocese of Laon and Soissons. The preamble of Philip, who confirmed the foundation, runs, "We ° considering the fruitfulness in good and the countless benefits to souls and bodies, which the praiseworthy teaching of the University of Paris, diffused among the nations of Christ's faithful, hath yielded in times now past, and by the gift of the Lord, will yield hereafter; and that nothing is more glorious in the sight of God, than to plant in the lands the vine, whose fruit prudently and faithfully presides over the rule of the whole state, and, leading a praiseworthy life in the body, edifies the souls of

^m iv. 74.

[°] l. c. p. 635, 6.

[°] Bul. Hist. Univ. Par., iv. 167.

others also to salvation, and redounds to the grace of its Saviour" &c.

The Scholars of the double College parted very soon into two distinct Colleges. Bulæus says the less of them, having intended to "speak" of them more at length, in a distinct volume." He gives however a diploma of Charles V., in which he confirms a donation to the College of Laon. Its date is A. 1378, 65 years after the foundation of the College. The king sets forth, "We^q, weighing with diligent thought, *what large fruits of knowledge have issued from this said College in times past, and do issue unceasingly*, and that the Scholars of the said College *may proceed from good to better*, who, that they may gain the pearl of knowledge, leave their parents and home, become exiles from their fatherland, pass sleepless nights, are sparing in bodily nourishment, that they may study the more diligently, and gather inestimable fruit of study from their labour; in whose house, divine worship is daily celebrated, and by the zeal of those who are dispersed not only in our city of Paris, but in divers places throughout our realm and many other parts of the world, faith is increased and provision is made for the salvation of souls, the polity is ruled, the health of bodies is preserved and guarded from evil," &c.

Bulæus inserts in his "history" of this century, many like praises of the Students of Paris.

A. 1312 Philip le Bel forbade^r any passage money to be levied by the Counts of Boulogne on Students

^p Ib. 168.

^q p. 169.

^r Bul. iv. 165.

who came from Picardy and Flanders. The king gave this "to each Student, although infringing in it the rights of the said Count, as a singular prerogative, we do not grant it to any other persons of any other condition, lay or Clerks, secular or Ecclesiastics." The Count gave up his right in favour of these Students only. The king assigns as the ground of this privilege, "We, considering the labours, vigils, toils, penury, tribulations and distresses which the aforesaid Students undergo in search of the pearl of knowledge; how, coming from distant parts, they even leave friends, parents, and country, and despising fortune and worldly goods come thirsting to the waters, and taking the streams of the living fountain, they conduct everywhere water-courses, by which the world is watered in its divers parts; they receive the light of faith, the traditions of the Fathers and the teaching of Holy Mother Church, bright beams of light received, with which the whole earth shines brightly."

A. 1316, Pope John XXII. in recommending the Masters of the University of Paris to all Prelates or Patrons of benefices, rehearses: "Ye know also,

* *Ib.*, p. 174. In another Bull, forbidding certain "abuses" in the Court of the Conservator of the University, deputed by the apostolic see, A. 1325, the like language recurs. (*Ib.*, p. 206). "We, frequently revolving in our mind the University of Paris, like the river of God full of water, fruitful in the rich produce of knowledge, and as it were divinely instituted for the enlightening of the Gentiles, and its rich fruits which, like a fruitful land which the Lord hath blessed, it hath brought forth in the Universal Church, long with the desire of fatherly sincerity, that it be not injured by any unworthy censures, nor undermined by detraction, but may shine forth in the brightness of renown, &c."

since no corner of the world is ignorant of it, how many and how great men renowned in learning and famous for upright conversation, the University of Paris, divinely instituted for the enlightening of the Gentiles, hath produced hitherto, and ceaseth not continually to produce, who, diffusing the streams of their discourse, have watered and water manifoldly the Universal Church spread far and wide, quickening men's very souls with the doctrine of life, and making them resplendent with virtues."

A. 1340, Philip VI. remitted all taxes to the Scholars of Paris, forbad their being brought before any secular judges out of the walls of Paris, or that their goods should be seized on occasion of the wars, or for any other cause. He assigns the same grounds as Philip le Bel. "Whereas¹ all orthodox kings need, and it is to the glory of their realm to have, diligent men, adorned with learning, distinguished for virtues, fortitude, counsel, that, guiding all things with skilful forethought, they may rule gloriously under the Prince of Peace, and govern in the power of His Majesty. And the University of Masters and Scholars studying in Paris, like a fruitful field bearing rich fruits in which they gather

The same occurs in another Bull, A. 1317, forbidding the attendants of the Monks of S. Germain des Près, from molesting the Students in fishing in some water near the Monastery. "We, turning our Apostolic consideration to the rich fruits, which the University of Paris brings forth, like an abundant field which the Lord hath blessed in the Universal Church, are anxious for its peace and tranquillity." Stronger language is used by Alexander IV., A. 1255. Raynaldus s. Ann. n. 39.

¹ *Ib.*, p. 264.

learning grain by grain, produces men fruitful in manifold virtues, whose glorious fertility is poured out abundantly to others, making the little great, the ignorant learned, and the weak virtuous. With a longing of wonderful goodness for these things, they acquire in the University of Paris, the spiritual pearl of letters and dogmas."

A. 1342, Pope Clement VI. gave licence to the Masters and Scholars, Students in Theology, to receive for 5 years, while absent, the returns of their benefices. The Bull sets forth, "We^h, of our free will, reviewing the rich fruits diffused throughout the world, which the flourishing University of Paris hath produced hitherto and still produces, especially in the Theological Faculty; and the profit of many souls which is known to result of those skilled in that faculty; deem it worthy and fitting to honour with special favour, and provide with Apostolic privileges the Masters and Scholars of that University, studying in that faculty."

A. 1366, Nic. Oresmius, of the College of Navarre, was sent by his former pupil, Charles the Wise, to dissuade Urban V. from returning from Avignon to Rome. In the oration, he sets forth the merits of the University of Paris. "This¹ place is flourishing with many, as well Ecclesiastical studies, as other sciences and disciplines, through which our faith and true righteousness are adorned, above all other realms of the world."

A. 1379, Henr. de Hassia, in his "Epistle of

^h Ib., p. 277.

¹ Ib., p. 408.

Peace" towards the healing of the Roman schism, speaks of "all^k doubtful questions, wherever arising and indeterminable elsewhere," as being "referred to it."

A. 1389, Cardinal de Alliaco speaks of "the brightness^l of religious truth and wisdom in the University of Paris." "Whatever^m appertaineth to religion or the common benefits of the Church, [your Holiness] ever rejoiceth to bring about and promote. Nor do you deem aught foreign to you, which toucheth religion and the faith. For she it is which illumines the whole Church, like a bright light, shining with the glittering torches of doctrine. She it is which made the Christian Kings of the Franks 'most Christian,' and through which that eulogy was paid to Gaul by Quintilian, and afterwards by Jerome, that Gaul alone had no monster, i. e., not the monster of perfidious infidelity; while nearly everywhere else there were as many sects as authors". Finally, she it is which hath ever given birth to men, chief defenders of the orthodox faith, and famed for uprightness of morals."

These attestations relate to the University of Paris, including its Colleges, within one century. More Colleges were founded in Paris during this century than in any other. Colleges were probably a new form of the Monastic Episcopal schools°. Bulæus mentions^p six Monasteries especially emi-

^k Ib., p. 575; add p. 577.

^l Ib., p. 652.

^m p. 653.

ⁿ I have ventured to read *auctores* for *actores*.

^o Id. de schol. Cœnobial. et episcopal. Ib. i. 80, 1.

^p i. 310 sqq.

nent in the 10th century, "in the teaching of the Arts;" Hirsauge, Fulda, St. Gall, Lob, Aurillac, Floriac. In these, the students were received within walls; only there were inner schools for the monks, outer for any others. Such schools, in which instruction was given in all sciences, were attached to the larger Benedictine convents. "The school at Rheims^p educated within it very many noble and religious persons, and was a pattern to all in honesty of life and right conversation, in chastity, knowledge, discipline, rebuking of ill, maintenance of good." The Bishops in the Synod of Cressy, A. 858, extol the discipline of the Palatine schools.

The origin of Colleges in Paris dates from the middle of the 11th century, when Robert, son of Hugh Capet, founded (A. 1050) a College for a hundred poor clerks^q, which probably afterwards became the College of the Louvre (S. Nicol. de Luparia). This, with the College of the Bons Enfants, was accounted the oldest in Paris. Between 1242, and 1304, twelve Colleges were (as I said)^r founded or enlarged. 1. The Bernardines, A. 1246: "The^s edifying and well-ordered conduct of its students, pleased God, the prelates, and the people." 2. The Bons Enfants de S. Victoire, 1248. 3. Sorbonne, 1250. 4. Præmonstrants, 1255. 5. Cluny^t, 1269,

^p Hugo Abb. Flavin. ib. 360.

^q Bul. i. 392, add ii. 263 sqq.

^r Evid. p. 51, from Bulæus, iii. 659.

^s Matt. Paris in Crevier Hist. de l' Univ. de Paris, i. 491.

^t De Breuil, p. 630-2, gives the epitaphs of several distinguished

6. Tréguier, 1269. 7. Calvi, 1270. 8. Harcourt, 1280. 9. Cholets, 1291. 10. Cardinal College [i. e. Cardinal le Moine], A. 1302 ; and 11. Navarre, 1304. Besides these, the College of, 12. Constantinople had been founded early in the century.

"The^x zeal," however, "for founding in Paris, Colleges wherein, with aid of the lectures of the Masters of the University, persons might be formed capable of serving the Church and state, was never more signal than in the course of" the next, "the 14th century." Of these, Navarre, Laon, Plessis, Presles, have been already mentioned. Besides these, A. 1317, Philip le Long gave a house to the *Carmelites*, "that^y the brothers may be near their schools, in which they may drink the draught of wisdom." The College of *Bayeux* was founded A. 1309, by Bonet, Bishop of Bayeux, for the dioceses in which he was born and educated, Mons and Angers^a. There was also the College of *Montague*^a, A. 1314, for poor scholars, re-built A. 1388, and re-founded, A. 1485ⁱ, after the loss of its revenues^b and students, by Standone its Principal, on a rule of great austerity. Joh. Major^c was

members of the College of Cluny, among them Simon de Brossa and John Rawlin.

^a De Breuil speaks of Cardinals, Bishops, Canons, and Ecclesiastical personages, having been supported and advanced in their beginning by aid of the College, p. 640.

^x Crevier ii. 273.

^y Bul. iv. 328.

^a Bul. iv. 120 ; Crev. ii. 222.

^a Bul. iv. 171, 947, 980 ; Crev. ii. 259.

^b It had only eleven or sixteen sous per ann. left. Crev. v. 21.

^c Ib. v. 7.

educated by him, and taught there ; Loyola studied Grammar and Philosophy there, and at the College of S. Barbe^d. It was eminent in A. 1568°. Standone founded a College on the same severe rule at *Cambrai, Louvain, Malines, Valenciennes*^f. A. 1317, B. de Farges, Bishop of Narbonne, founded the College of *Narbonne* for nine scholars of his diocese. Pope Clement VI. was one of its students^g.

There were also the College of *Marmoutier*, 1329, for the students of that abbey ; of *Arras*, 1321, for poor scholars of the diocese of Arras ; three for those of the Province of Bretagne, *Cournouaille*, A. 1321, *Tréguier*, 1325, *Karembert* or Leon, which, about 1561, was united to that of Tréguier. The buildings were destroyed A. 1610, to make room for the "College-royal." A. 1334, Stephen de Bourgueil, Archbishop of Tours, founded the College of *Tours*, for six students under a Principal, for his own diocese. Jeanne, Countess of Burgundy, and widow of Philip the Long, founded, A. 1332, "a college for twenty students in Arts, of the county of *Burgundy*, with a M.A. and a Chaplain." It underwent some changes ; but "maintains itself with credit under the direction of the Chancellor of the Church of Paris, and the Warden of the Cordeliers of the great convent."

A. 1336, the College of *Lisieux*^h was founded by the Bishop for twenty-four scholars of his diocese. A. 1337, *Bertrand*, Bishop of Autun, founded one for

^d Ib. vi. 2.

^e Ib. 220.

^f Ib. v. 251.

^g Crev. ii. 328.

^h Crev. ii. 330.

fifteen students of Vienne, Pui, or Clermont. A. 1339, the College of *Hubant*, or Ave Maria, was founded for six poor children, from eight or nine to sixteen¹, with a chaplain and master. A. 1343, *Mignon*, founded a College after his name, with preference to his relations. Henry III. gave it in 1583 (against the protest of the University) to the Monks of Grandmont.

In the 12th century, the College *de Dace* had been founded for the Danes^k; in 1359, a Bursa was founded for the Scotch. "It was fixed in 1662 in the place which is now *the Scotch College*. This College, being then re-built with an elegant Chapel, maintains itself [A. 1761] through good discipline, in a state which does honor to the University." Four Italians, A. 1334, founded 11 Bursæ for eleven Italian students. "It is now (1761) the *Lombard College*." The act of foundation mentions a College for *Swedes* (else unknown). There was also a *German* College, below that of Navarre, built probably a little before. The College of *Boncour Chanac*, (afterwards S. Michael), was founded A. 1348, for students of Limousin, and in the same year also that of "the three Bishops," or of *Cambrai*. A. 1353 saw three Colleges founded; *Becoud*, for eight students from the diocese of Térouane. "It was^l very flourishing, especially in the 16th century," but afterwards merged in that of Navarre; as was the

¹ Bul. iv. 281.

^k In 1430 it was united to the College of Laon. Bul. v. 390.

^l Crev. ii. 408.

second, that of *Tournai*. That of *Justice* was still “in^m a very good state” in 1761. A. 1359, the College of *Boissi* was founded for poor relations of the founders on both sidesⁿ. A. 1366, a rent-charge of eight sous a week apiece was recovered for scholars of a house of *S. Malo*.

A. 1370—2, Cardinal de Dormans founded the College of *Dormans-Beauvais*, for twenty-four students of his kin, native place (Dormans), the neighbouring places, or the diocese (Soissons), but in case of default of good objects of his charity, from “any other place;” a permission somewhat unusual^o. Crevier counts among its Professors in the 16th century, S. Francis Xavier, Arnaud d’Ossat, (afterwards Cardinal), and Le-Maitre. Boileau was one of its pupils in the 17th century; at its close, Rollin was its Principal. The College of Maitre *Gervais* or Bayeux, was also founded, A. 1370, for poor scholars of the diocese of Bayeux, and partly of Coutances, by Gervais Chrétien, physician to the king, educated in the College of Navarre. A. 1373, Pierre Fortet of Aurillac founded the College of *Fortet*, which is mentioned from time to time as a considerable College. A. 1374, the College of *Marche*^p was founded for six scholars from the native place of the founder, and the town where he had been curé.

^m Crev. ii. 410.

ⁿ Crev. ii. 252; Bul. iv. 180.

^o Crev. ii. 464 sqq. The provision had not been mentioned before, and Crevier’s praise implies that it was unusual.

^p Crev. ii. 417.

Now, before we enter into the question whether any of these Colleges *were* corrupted, or by whom, thus much is clear, that they were *not* "corrupted"^a within a few years from their first institution." The above list contains thirty-four Colleges, in addition to those founded in the preceding century. They were founded in poverty, and therefore the less *likely* to be corrupted. Some of the Colleges were in connection with strict religious orders^r. There is no mention of reform being needed, and yet the accounts of Bulæus are so minute, and are drawn from records so full, that if needed, it would not have escaped mention. Yet at the earliest date mentioned by Professor Vaughan, some Colleges were a century old ; some, older.

The list shews that, the Scholarships were mostly few, although the Colleges received also members not on the foundation ; that they were founded sometimes for foreign nations ; sometimes for limited purposes ; sometimes for distant dioceses ; and that they mostly did not contain any provision for filling up the places on the foundation, failing those for whom they were intended. The founders often too, had either not the means, or any how, it did not occur to them often, to build substantial Colleges, such as ours now are. They commonly gave houses of their own, and some of these became

^a Prof. Vaughan, p. 84.

^r A. 1253 the University of Paris enumerates the Colleges of the Monks of Clairvaux, Præmonstrants, Val des Ecoliers, of the Holy Trinity, Dominicans, Franciscans. Bul. iii. 255 ; Crev. i. 396.

after a time dilapidated, simply because there were no funds to keep them up.

Besides this, the endowment of nearly half the Colleges came from Normandy, and when that country was in possession of the English, the income was cut off. The fact is stated by the University itself, A. 1445, in its instruction for its Ambassadors to the king.

“Let^s it be shewn that during this time, no small losses are inflicted on the University of Paris, and many Churches and Ecclesiastics of this kingdom, who have their spiritual, ecclesiastical and beneficial revenues in the parts of Normandy, *which revenues now notoriously go to the benefit of the English.*

“Also especially let it be laid open, that the University of Paris itself is mainly founded in its Colleges, in which, as it were, it wholly resides, *yea, and during the discords of the wars, would itself have perished, if it had not been preserved in these very Colleges.* Of which Colleges, however, nearly half have their fruits and revenues in the said parts of Normandy, whereby both the Scholars are supported in the University, *and the very fabrics of the Colleges are wont to be supported.* There are also many Scholars and Masters beneficed in the said parts of Normandy, who were wont to be supported in the University by the fruits of their benefices.

“Moreover, now too it is pitiable to behold the Colleges themselves of the University founded therein, threatened with the most grievous ruin, being emptied of their subjects and Students, and the very beneficed persons themselves reduced by want. Especially from the time that the city of Paris has been brought back under the king’s obedience, they have received none of their wonted revenues and fruits, which is known to have brought no small loss on the said University.”

The Normans also chose to “apply^t the fruits and revenues of the said Colleges to students in their new University at Caen; and those of Caen forbad any one, under the heaviest penalties, to go from Normandy to the University of Paris, and said that they had obtained from the Apostolic See, that they should, in obtaining benefices, be preferred to other Universities and those studying elsewhere.”

Crevier says^u, that the question of the benefices was not finally settled until 1606, when the Parliament decided in favour of the University of Paris.

The “Normans” were one of the four constitutional parts, the “nations^x,” of which the University was composed. “In the College de Harcourt,” De Breuil says^y, “have always been a great number of persons, issued from the Nation of

^t Ib.

^u iv. 452.

^x The other three were the Gallican, the German, and that of Picardy.

^y p. 643.

Normandy, employed and yielding fruit in the University of Paris."

There were then several grounds of decay, besides "decay of discipline;" Houses decay; funds decay or are cut off; Students from distant parts are forbidden or hindered from coming. In 1565, the Doctors of Canon Law pleaded to Parliament as a ground for permitting the study of the Civil Law at Paris, "the^a risk which the young students incurred of being carried off in going from Paris to Orleans or Bourges." Thus there *might* be none to claim the pension or to inhabit the College. "In^a 1362, there was but one Student in the College of Constantinople, Yvan, a priest of the Diocese of Novare."

This would occur most frequently in the civil wars of France. It might not be safe for distant Students to come to Paris; or the Scholar's gown might give way to arms. Thus, Crevier relates; "At^b the beginning of the seventeenth century, the College of Beauvais as well as all the rest, was fallen into a deplorable state through the frightful disorders of the league." Bulæus says at the close of the sixteenth: "The^c last calamity of the University befell her from the civil wars, especially from that fatal conspiracy called the League. For she saw herself so *depopulated*, as to seem wholly different from that of old, which was the workshop of the Arts, the home of the Muses. Boteræus, an

^a Crev. vi. 230.

^b ii. 471.

^c Bul. iv. 365-8; Crev. ii. 416-8.

^c vi. 916.

eye-witness, paints briefly its squalid condition at that time. 'None^d can grieve or be amazed enough at the calamity and squalid look of the University, at the very time of the king's entry. Celtiberian, Hispano-Belgian, Parthenopæan [Neapolitan] soldiers, countrymen from the neighbourhood, had filled the abode of the Muses with a barbarous foul gear, with flocks and herds. Where eloquence of the learned resounded of old, there were heard the discordant voices of foreign soldiers, the bleating of sheep, the lowing of herds; in a word, the Colleges were fouler than the stable of Augias. Long had been the silence of the Muses, and more silent than Amyclæ itself was the University.'

Such also, in their degree, were the times from which Professor Vaughan draws the first part of his picture, A. 1421.

From A. 1392 the king had been subject to fits of insanity; the faction of the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans rent the kingdom.

In 1418, Paris itself had been the scene of civil tumults; the person of the king had been seized at Paris, numbers had been murdered. In 1419 was the murder of the Duke of Burgundy. In the very year 1421, Henry V. of England took possession of Paris as the heir of the crown of France, and the present regent of the empire.

No marvel then, that Colleges were deserted. Students and Tutors had fled. Bulæus, the historian of the University of Paris, from whom Mei-

^d Comm. L. 1, ad A. 1594.

ners derives his statement, expressly states that it was “*through the calamity of the times*.”

“The^a third kind of things done by the University in this year, was the survey and reformation of Colleges, of which many (pleraque) *through the calamity of the times*, were either going to utter decay, or had no Heads, or did not receive their revenues, or their funds were ill administered. Against this evil then, the University wished to provide; but the question arose, whether it belonged to the University itself, or to each Nation to reform its Colleges.”

No marvel, that at such a time, when Colleges were thinned or emptied of their students, or their support cut off, students or tutors, whether lawyers or physicians, should have sought a maintenance in the practice of their profession, or that kings’ officials should have found a place of safety in the deserted Colleges. All this is an index of distress, but not of “corruption.” Some of the Colleges were emptied through privation of their incomes, or the absence of the students entitled to the income, and the confusion of civil war.

The reform, then, introduced consisted in these three points.

1. “It seemed good to the nation, that all *Practitioners*°, whether masters or scholars, as also all

^c Meiners omits it.

^d Bul. v. 350.

^e Meiners paraphrases *studii gratia* by ‘die nicht selbst lehren oder lehrer hören,’ and *virii practici* by “andere Gewerbe und Handthierungen treiben.”

This is the foundation of Professor Vaughan’s statement. “*Trades*

officials of the king, who occupy places in the Colleges, not for study, be expelled from the said Colleges, and that herein good diligence be used by the Procurator of the Nation as well towards the Collators of the Bursæ, as towards others, when need be."

[Even this slight fault then seems to be divided with the Collators of the Bursæ, who put them in.]

2. "That over Colleges, in which none or few, and those, aged men dwell, there be set, for their rule and the preservation of their utensils, books, revenues, and letters, two or three notable Masters, who may well and diligently procure the advantage, and preserve the goods of the said Colleges." The writer, P. Maugier, Procurator Nat. Gall., subjoins, "the nation appointed M. Wm. de Brosis, M. Joh. Cheoroti, M. Wm. Erardi *and me.*" (The account then is authentic.)

3. "That each College should give to the Procurator of the Nation their Codicils, in which are inscribed the names of the Master and Scholars, and the number of those in each College, the Provinces of which they are natives, the value of the bursæ, the time during which they ought to stay, the faculties in which they ought to study, and all other general statutes. Also let those same Codicils con-

were set up and practised within College walls, and by the Tutors themselves." p. 84. "In the year 1421 the Colleges were visited, and laws were made prohibiting the evil practices which prevailed in them. By one of them, it was expressly enacted that all who pursued and practised *trades* in the College, whether Tutors or Students, should be expelled." p. 85, note.

tain an inventory of all their books and utensils, and the quantity and situation of the revenues and hereditages."

Such were all the rules then passed. They indicate absence of students, loss of revenues, but not one "evil practice," unless it be such for professional men to practise their professions in the emptied Colleges. It was right that, when the University could be restored, they should be replaced by students. Yet amid the horrible corruption of manners in the kingdom without, there is not one imputation of corruption within the Colleges.

But "no^t less than six Colleges were then found to have been brought to the very verge of destruction, by dilapidation *or want of discipline*."

Six Colleges were dilapidated ; but of the "want of discipline," there is no indication. Of these six Colleges, two, *du Tou* and *de Loris* were so small and obscure that Crevier could find no notice of

^t Professor Vaughan. Meiners, after having given his account of the College of Navarre, says, "Mournful but irrefragable documents teach us what was the condition of most of the other Colleges in the fifteenth century. So early as the year 1421 most Houses of this sort in Paris had fallen into such a state of decay, that the University declared it to be most urgent, to institute a Visitation and Reformation of the same. Some Colleges had wholly perished, others had lost their heads, or great part of their goods. Lastly, there were Colleges, whose property was very ill administered. As to the necessity of a Reformation of *the Colleges* there was only one voice. But a dispute arose, whether the Reformation of the Colleges belonged to the University, or whether each nation had the right to reform the Colleges belonging to her."

them. Of a third we only know that a Dr. Olivier Donjou or Donjon founded six students' places for the Diocese of Tréguier, which he feared lest his heirs should divert; and the French "Nation" appointed deputies to carry it into effect^s. The three remaining, Cournouaille, Tréguier, and Karember, all belonged to the one Province of Bretagne, on the northern extremity. It is most probable that their students in those troubled times, did not come up to Paris^h. For six years only had elapsed since the destructive battle of Agincourt. In 1418, Henry V. was again reducing towns in Normandy. No wonder that students from the northern extremity of Bretagne should remain at home, even if the Duke of Burgundy had not been lately overrunning France, and carrying war to Paris. Paris in this very year was in the possession of the king of England. Of the College of De Loris, Bulæus expressly says, that "studentsⁱ could scarce be found." Their revenue

^s Bul. v. 909.

^h "As to the thirty French livres purchased by the Nation for the Scholars de Loris, and which on account of the diversity of the time, had fallen into the hands of the Royal Commissioners, because the Scholars, who had the claim to the aforesaid money, *had absented themselves on account of the times*, I was required to use all possible diligence to recover the said money. These thirty livres per ann. were at last given to a house situated in the vicus ferreus, &c." Bul. v. 351.

ⁱ "On the same Feb. 21 and others, there were frequent discussions as to the restoration of these Colleges, Cornouaille, Tréguier, de Karember, de Donjou or de Dujon, and du Tou or de Tullio, or de Tullio, which were going to ruin. Of which five, two only survive, Cornouaille and Tréguier; the other three have perished, as also the College de Loris; nay, at that very time Scholars de Loris were scarcely found, for on May 5, 1422, when the said [Gallican] Nation was as-

of thirty livres, which was to be given to them, if found, lapsed, in default of them, to the Gallican nation.

Thus the word "*reformation* of Colleges" sometimes means their actual "re-formation" or restoration, not their moral "reformation." If a College were without a head, and there were no Provisores to appoint one, it became the duty of the Nation to which it belonged, to "re-form" it by appointing one. Thus Bulæus relates in 1428 as the sequel of this "reformation:" "The^k University, not being now intent on the public matters of the realm, as it had been under the rule of the lawful kings, applied itself to the Reformation of its Colleges, of which many were without Masters or Foundationers or revenues, many also were either buried in ruins, or all but in ruins. We learn from the Acts that each Nation was wont to undertake the charge and bring about the Reformation of its own Colleges; nay to set over them Masters or Prefects, or Primarii." Accordingly the French Nation appointed a successor¹ to the deceased Master of the College of Chanac; and gave notice to the Provisors of the College de Retelois, that they must do the like within a month.

sembled, and it was debated to what purpose the aforesaid thirty livres should be turned, the Nation decided that enquiry should be made, whether any such Scholars could be found, or, if not, others of the neighbouring country, and that the money should be expended for their benefit." "The College de Karember^t was situated in Mt. S. Hilaire, and had certain revenues from the territory de Bagnolet."

^k v. 384.

¹ Bulæus gives the decree in which this was done, v. 385.

Provision also was made for the future. It was stated to the Nation "that several Colleges of the Nation were continually being demolished for want of masters, and especially the College de Retelois, in which there had been no Master for two years. The Nation then determined that there should be one index, in which henceforth the names of all the Colleges should be inscribed, and the Deans of each Province should bring the names of all the Masters of their Province, who had been taken to the Mastership of the said Colleges."

But "four^m of the six Colleges *which had been re-established* in 1421 had disappeared in the seveneenth century." It does not appear that three ever were restored. It is not said; nor is any thing known of them before or since. The College de Loris clearly was not restored, since the funds recovered from the Royal Commissioners for its students, if such could have been found, were given, at last, to "aⁿ house in the Rue de Fer." The fourth, Karember, was merged in that of Tréguier, belonging to the same province, as many of our Colleges are on the sites of, or are united with, ancient Halls.

^m Prof. Vaughan, p. 85, note. Meiners says, "The Gallican nation deliberated by name about the restoration of six Colleges. Of the six Colleges, only 2 survived in the latter half of the 17th century, when Du Boullay wrote. The remaining 4, *despite of all visitations and reformation*, had perished." (i. 137.) One had not perished, but had been united. The other 3 do not appear to have been visited or reformed.

ⁿ See p. 130, notes h, i.

Professor Vaughan proceeds. "In 1451, new laws were given to the Faculties of Arts, many of which affected the internal discipline of the Colleges°. The Ruler of the University and four Proctors were empowered to dismiss from *the Colleges* any tutors whose character was notoriously bad: and lest *the Houses* should, in spite of these orders, retain them in their posts, it was provided that degrees should be refused by the University to any pupils remaining under their care after such act of expulsion. At the same time, a general power was conferred on the Rector of the University and the Faculties to visit the Colleges periodically, and inquire into the morals and industry both of the tutors, teachers, and scholars. Fresh laws were enacted, specifically prohibiting most of the evil practices which I have mentioned above."

Of this statement, so much is true, that Cardinal d'Estouteville, did, as Papal Legate, direct that four persons should annually be chosen to visit the Colleges and Boarding-houses in which scholars in arts resided, but as a general order for the future, involving no charge and only as a wise precaution. I will give the Cardinal's own words.

"We^p decree, that every year the Rector [of the University] for the time being, assemble the Faculty

° Meiners i. 137. "Among the new statutes, which were given to the Faculty of Arts, *many* affected the *Colleges*, and from these statutes too it appears, how powerless all injunctions are in anarchical or corrupted times."

^p Bul. v. 571.

of Arts, between the feast of S. Denys and All Saints, in order that there may be elected by the said Faculty four men from each nation, Masters in Arts, Graduates in some of the higher faculties, men of good report, fearing God and skilful in business, to whom we enjoin and by Apostolic authority commit and command, that they visit the several Colleges and Boarding-houses for boys (Pædagogies^a) in which scholars in arts dwell, and that they there diligently inquire, what is their honesty of life and conversation; what community of living, skill in teaching, modesty in ruling, Scholastic discipline, are there observed; that whatever they shall see or perceive to need reformation, according to God and Justice and observance of statutes, they, by virtue of our and the Apostolical authority, reform and restore, commanding them to execute diligently and faithfully the office of reformation enjoined to them." If they were negligent in this, the Cardinal gave authority to the Bishop of Paris to "appoint four most approved men, Graduate and fearing God, for the said inquiry, to report to the Bishop, who was to make such provision as he saw fit and repress the contumacious with Ecclesiastical censures.

Such is the only regulation adduced by Meiners and Professor Vaughan, which relates to the Colleges. All the rest relate to the "little schools" or boarding-houses for boys. One of the mal-practices checked,

^a "Collegia atque Pædagogia," Meiners, (i. 138.) In the text he omits the Pædagogia, as he does again, A. 1487, because he confuses the Colleges and the Pædagogia. i. 140.

was, as we shall see, committed not in, but against the Colleges.

Of the general state of the University, Cardinal d'Estouteville spoke with satisfaction. He highly praised its past condition, spoke of the diligence in the present, and spoke of its defects for the most part, as a "slight deflection" only, and that, owing mainly to the civil wars. "Since^r learned and lettered men," he says in the preamble, "ought to be an example to others in life and manners, and shew them the light of good life, they must first restrain themselves by laws and institutions. For 'law,' as Cicero says, 'ought to be an amender of vices and commender of virtues, that from it the way of right life may be drawn.' *To which the University of Paris wisely and diligently attendeth*; which, although in older times, it was ruled and governed, very long indeed (diutissime) with most healthful institutions and laws, yet either through the civil wars, which distracted both the city and learned and studious men, or by the arrogated licence of men, seemed to have *declined some little* from that Scholastic discipline and institution of life; and it gradually came to this, that scholastic men either regarded those ancient and excellent institutions as abrogated by custom, or, what is graver, they abused many of them as allowed privileges." He says of himself, "in my younger years I was a student at Paris, *and received from her whatever training and learning* I have, and the honour of an M.A. I

^r Ib. 562.

ought therefore to repay to those from whom I received it, the fruit *of the industry bestowed on me through God.*"

The reforms in the three higher faculties, divinity, law, medicine, are but few. The strongest language is used as to some inordinate fees, taken chiefly from rich people for degrees in law, and in forbidding any bribery in the election of the Rector in the Faculty of Arts. The rest relates, as I said, to the little-schools. "Reformation in the Faculty of Arts," the Cardinal says, "seemeth the more useful and necessary, in that the infirm age of those who study in that faculty is to be strengthened by greater discipline and stricter rules."

The "little-schools" to which these rules relate, were Grammar-schools, under the regulation of the University, and a part of it; in which Masters of Arts boarded and taught boys.

"These little schools were," says Crevier*, "by our fathers, called Pædagogia. The first express and marked mention of them is in A. 1392, when fifty pupils, under the care of William Venlet, a licentiate in law, brought a complaint against some police, who had broken into the house. This Venlet was what we should now call 'Maitre de Pension,' [Master of a Boarding-house.] The Pædagogi, pedagogues or masters of pensions, were dependent on their nation, or the faculty of Arts to which they belonged." The Pædagogia or boarding schools were entirely distinct from the

* iii. 105.

Collèges. They are distinguished in the decree of the Faculty of Arts (A. 1463, October 23) against vagrant scholars[†]. The decree not only repeatedly distinguishes the Pædagogia from the Colleges, but shews that the worst class of students were those who belonged neither to College nor boarding-house. "Because discipline in domestic matters is not to be overlooked, but rather we ought to commence therewith, in order to meet the insolences committed by those commonly called Martinets, feignedly boasting themselves to be scholars, the illustrious Faculty of Arts hath ordained, that henceforth, no one shall gain his term in the Faculty of Arts, nor shall the seal of the Rector or Proctors, or the signets of Pædagogues and Regents for those to be examined for the degree of B.A., or licenses be expedited, unless, for the time required for obtaining the degree, he have continued in a *College*, *Pædagogy*, or the house of his parents, or of notable men in one of the Faculties, Regent or student, serving them gratis. Moreover it has decreed that no scholar of the said Faculty shall be allowed to leave, or rather wander about *from house* to a strange house, unless, in the presence of the Faculty, he have alleged a sufficient and special cause for his departure. It has also prohibited Masters, Pædagogues, and Regents, under pain of perjury and deprivation of their regency, to receive such any how into their *houses*, and the Bedels to bring them in for the performance of any scholastic act, or receive the degree in the

[†] In Bul. v. 658.

Rue de Paille. The Faculty has willed that this decision be read and published annually by the Bedels in the Rue de Paille, at public Sermons, in *Pædagogies*, *Houses*, *Colleges*, and be inscribed and affixed in an open place."

The *Colleges* were also distinguished from the *Pædagogies*, in an Act of the University, A. 1437, in accepting, *pro hac vice*, the imposition of a duty on wine for some of its members. "It" excepts Masters, Doctors, Regents, *Colleges*, *Pædagogues*, or Masters of boarding houses, Masters holding schools, the true scholars being at the University to acquire knowledge and degree, the principal officers, the four Bedels of the Faculties and Nations, and the four principal Librarians." A. 1443, the Gallican "nation" and that of Picardy, determined that a suspension of sermons and lectures should not be removed. The Proctor accordingly, at the desire of the "nation^{*}," enjoined all graduates of the nation, *by virtue of their oath*, not to attend the [University] processions, and the *Pædagogists* to take their boys home. "Whoever" had a right to teach, might open a school in any place he pleased, provided it was in the neighbourhood of the principal schools. Thus we have mentioned Adam, an Englishman, who held his near the Petit Pont. Another Adam, a Parisian, taught at the Grand Pont. South of the river, and at the foot of the Montagne, although it is unquestionable that several masters taught

^{*} Crev. iv. 85, quoting Privileges de l'Université, p. 95.

^{*} Bul. v. 527.

^{*} Crev. i. 277.

there, we cannot point out at that time any precise spot."

This school was under the Chanter. On occasion of a joint "application" of the Chancellor and Chanter of the Church of Paris, who requested (doubtless of Parliament) that it should be ruled and enacted that the 'little schools' should only be governed by Masters of Arts," Crevier says, "I know not why the Chancellor appears in this matter, which does not concern him. The Chanter, on whom the little schools depend, in acting in concert with the University, gave an example, which many of his successors have not followed.

Grammar-schools under Masters of Arts existed at Oxford also, as a distinct sort of Hall. Wood says that besides schools held in Monasteries or Colleges, "Many" of the said Grammar Schools have been independent, or have had no reliance on a College or Religious House.

"Others have been in Halls allotted only for the Faculty of Grammar; but such, whether independent or not, have so often changed their names and Faculties (having been from schools converted to halls, and from halls to schools, and at length quite decayed) that I have found it very difficult to discover them, and from an incredible number to produce but a few.

"The said Grammar Schools (not the Claustal or those in Colleges) have been continually supervised, in order to good rule and government by

² Ib. v. 457.

³ Annals, ii. 712, 3.

certain Masters of Arts, annually, as it seems, chosen for that purpose ; though at Cambridge the Grammar Schools there have been supervised by the Archdeacon of Ely."

Wood enumerates ten such, one of which, Peckwater's Inn, afterwards came into the hands of Students of Law. "For the most part," he says, "they have been very ancient."

The only rule of Cardinal d'Estouteville, which mentions *Colleges*, *distinguishes* them from the *pædagogia*, or boarding-schools for *boys*. The other rules to which Mr. Vaughan refers, relate specifically to *boys*, and belong to the *pædagogia*.

"We ordain, that henceforth no one shall intrude himself into the government of *boys*^e who is not of good report and honest conversation. Else, if he labour under any notorious report, that he is not of an honest conversation, we command that he be admonished by the Rector of the University for the time being, in presence of the Proctors of the four Nations. But if he amend not, on the aforesaid monition, let it be signified to his scholars that the terms shall not count to them in the faculty, so long as they shall be under one who^d, being admonished, did not cease from his turpitude.

"We^e command and ordain, and with the denunciation of the judgment of God, we enjoin and ad-

^e Meiners, "of young people."

^d Meiners, "The time which they shall spend under the superintendence of such an unworthy one *in a College*," (interpolating these words,) i. 138.

^e Bul. v. 571.

monish, that no one be made a *Pædagogus*, Master, or Regent, to *boys* or scholars living under him, who is the author, adviser, or patron of any evil or turpitude ; for whereas Masters ought to instruct *boys*, not so much in knowledge and learning as in morals and virtues, they are to be punished with exceeding severity [gravi nimis animadversione] who seduce to vice those whom they ought to teach for good."

"Also, we admonish all and singular *Pædagogues*[†], present and to come, by virtue of holy obedience, that they so attend to the rule of the *boys and scholars in their houses*, that they may be able to give, before the Supreme Judge, the account which will be required of them, of their progress both in virtue and morals. Because, as the Apostle says, 'Whoso hath not due care of his own, and especially those of his own household, is worse than any infidel.' "

"Also, we command and enjoin that every *Master-Pædagogus*[‡] shall take to himself regents and sub-monitors, good, grave, and learned men, who may be an example to their disciples, and who may be such that they may be revered by the scholars for their virtues and knowledge. For fear and reverence are the nerve of scholastic discipline. And in order that they may keep and retain such with them, we will that the *principal Pædagogues*

[†] Meiners substitutes "*The heads of Colleges shall choose such teachers and superintendents only,*" &c., i. 138.

[‡] Meiners, "We bind the *Heads of Colleges* to," &c.

provide a competent salary, with food for the said regents and sub-monitors ; nor shall it be lawful in any way for the *principal Pædagogus* to take any one to him as sub-monitor from whom, together with the labour of teaching, he should require or exact any pension or sum whatsoever for his food ; for *he* can scarcely be supposed to be qualified who does not ask for any reward for his industry, but himself pays the price for his own labour. But if any be found who shall have given anything for teaching, or for his regency, let him be removed from the regency and from every honour of the faculty."

"Also, concerning the aforesaid *Pædagogues*, and the *head masters of houses* we decree and ordain that they do not, as men ambitious or thirsting basely for gain, course up and down houses or places, or go round taverns and inns, in person or through others, in order to ask, solicit, or seek for scholars for themselves. And let them exact from the scholars a just and moderate price for food according to the quality of the articles and state of the times. Let them give to the scholars clean, good, and wholesome food, and, observing a fitting frugality, let them give to each a suitable portion."

"We¹ also enjoin strictly, under pain of excommunication, which they will incur *ipso facto*, that no present or future *Pædagogues* form among themselves any collusions, conventicles, monopolies,

¹ "We forbid the *Heads and chief teachers of the Colleges*," &c.

¹ "If the heads of Colleges," &c. Meiners.

so as to determine the quota of the pension to be paid by the scholars ; but let each receive what is just and honest, more or less, according to the amount of expense which the scholar may wish to incur. But if any be found, who unmindful of their salvation, make such monopolies contrary to good morals and the common weal, we decree that they be severely punished, and shut out from the society of others, as persons excommunicate ; from which excommunication they may not be absolved by any, save the Chancellor of Paris, unless on the point of death, and having first made suitable satisfaction, at the discretion of the University."

" We^k also command and enjoin them, by virtue of holy obedience, that they impose such correction and scholastic discipline on their scholars as the faults require ; lest, to their own damnation, they nourish the vices of their Scholars by winking at them ; but it shall not be lawful for a Scholar who is justly corrected for a fault or negligence to go to another *Pædagogus*, in order to avoid the discipline and correction, unless there be some other good or sufficient reason¹. We forbid that any who has left the house of his former Master, because of a deserved correction, be received by any other *Pædagogus* into his house ; otherwise, the former Master

^k Meiners paraphrases, "*The Heads and Teachers in the Colleges* shall punish their Scholars in proportion to their fault, and not, out of fear of losing their scholars, overlook their errors."

¹ Meiners, "shall not leave *his College*, and such an one may not be received into any other *College*," i. 139.

who gave the correction shall have the right to claim him back before the Chancellor or his Official."

Now, even as to the Pædagogue or Schoolmaster, it would be hard to assume, that *all* or most *had* done, what it was now thus forbidden them to do. The very necessity for any reform of this sort implies that some must have done these things; probably in consequence of poverty entailed by the civil war. The poorer class, (such as these schoolmasters,) are always most affected by public distresses, because a narrow income feels a diminution most sensibly; and some of the evils spoken of are the shifts of persons pinched by poverty. The race of schoolmasters also declines perhaps more sensibly than others, when public calamities withdraw people from literary study. For, in that their office requires the least literary knowledge, when the scale sinks altogether, the sinking of the lowest scale is observed the most sensibly.

There is, however, no proof whatever, that these offences were general; none, that any of them existed at any other period than *this*, 1451, after the civil wars; and whatever offences there were, related *not to Colleges*, but to *private schools*, set up at the will of individual Masters.

The last regulations on this head, relate neither to Colleges nor to schools, but to *public lecturers* in Arts. This, too, belongs not to the times generally, but to certain individuals.

The Monasteries and Colleges undoubtedly taught grammar within their walls both to their founda-

tioners and others. But *these* Pedagogues had houses of *their own*, scholars of their own; they choose and pay *their* sub-monitors, whereas in the College, the teacher of grammar was only a subordinate instructor.

“Also, since we have heard from the credible relation of good men, that *certain* [nonnullos] *Regent-Masters*^m in the Faculty of Arts have, not less to their own disgrace than the loss of their Scholars, fallen from the ancient way of reading and teaching, we command, and by virtue of holy obedience strictly enjoin, all and singular Regent-Masters and Docentes, that in explaining the text of Aristotle to their Scholars, they attend point by point; or that, chapter by chapter, they diligently study and look out the comments and expositions of Philosophers and Doctors, that so they may speak and pronounce their lectures, elaborated by study, to their disciples, with their own voice; because as Jerome says, the act of the living voice hath a certain latent energy, and what is transferred from the mouth of the author into the ear of the disciples, sounds more energetically.”

“We also forbid the aforesaid Regents to read word for word from the questions of others, and require them in such wise to apply to labour and study, that they may know for themselves and be able to make and deliver to their pupils a sufficient

^m Meiners again, “*Many Teachers in the Colleges* have hitherto prepared little, or not at all for their lectures, or have allowed their MS. to be dictated by one of their scholars to the rest.”

lecture, whether they 'read to the pen,' or no, notwithstanding the ancient statute of not 'reading to the penⁿ,' with which we dispense, provided that they so compose their own lectures, that these evidently come from their own knowledge and labour, through the looking into books. But especially and under pain of excommunication, we forbid them to give any questions, however well compiled, to one of their Scholars to read and pronounce^o to the other Students, which, as we have heard, some are not ashamed to do, to the injury of their scholars, and the grave scandal of the Faculty of Arts."

One more regulation remains to be noticed. It related to examinations, and was to remedy the repeated injustice of certain of the *Pædagogues against the Colleges*. Cardinal d' Estouteville sets forth, "Whereas^p many complaints were made to us, and many inconveniences were represented before us, repeatedly, both by word and in writing, by grave men also, Masters in Theology, and others of every faculty, and especially on the part of the venerable Colleges of this University, and in great number, it was explained to us, that the aforesaid Examiners, on plea of their continuation, and as it were perpetuation in the said offices, (whereas they may and ought to be changed annually by the Chancellors themselves,) were guilty of many abuses in the

ⁿ See above, pp. 11 and 13, notes.

^o Nominandum. A. 1355, "a statute was passed by the Faculty of Arts against Professors of philosophy, who dictated their writings to their pupils, whom they called *nominatores ad pennam*." Bul. iv. 948.

^p Bul. v. 575.

aforesaid faculty, and many disadvantages resulted to the University. *For since the aforesaid Pædagogues*, having their own Bachelors who lodged and boarded with them, were set over this office, they, with immoderate favour and inordinate affection, promoted their own [scholars] although unworthy, preferring them to the worthy and well-deserving. But *the Bachelors of the Colleges*^a and others who were not of their own flock, they injuriously repelled, however worthy and learned, (which thing might create grave discords and seditions); we, wishing to obviate such abuses &c., declare by this well-advised edict, that the said Examiners shall henceforth be annual, and that the two Chancellors of St. Mary and St. Geneviève, and each of them, shall each year select four fresh Masters, for the examination and approval of the worthy and the rejection of the unworthy, according to the ancient statute; yet so that they shall have no power to confirm the former examiners or continue that office to them." "But let them choose learned men, expert and grave, graduates of at least six years, *not having Bachelors of their own*. And we call those their own who are under oath^r to them, or who are boarders or lodgers in their house."

^a Meiners, in abridging this statute, interpolates the word "*other Colleges*." "We forbid also most earnestly the continuance of the office of Examiners in the same persons, since experience shews, that Examiners who hold this office for many years successively, unduly favour their own Bachelors, and reject those *out of other Colleges*, be they ever so able." i. 140.

^r "jurati sub eis." Du Cange mentions "*discipuli jurati*."

We have an analogous rule, that no Examiner shall examine for honours a member of his own College. It could not have been expressed more plainly, that *this* was an offence committed not *by* but *against* the Colleges. The complaint is especially preferred *by* the Colleges. The injustice was done by certain *Pædagogues*, being Masters of Arts, to the members of the *Colleges*, and the pupils of other *Pædagogues*." Probably, since the office of Examiner was "perpetuated" in the same persons, not very many were implicated in this injustice.

"In 1472", this legislation was found to have been insufficient, and severer orders and new regulations were made."

The regulations of 1472 related *exclusively* to the quarrelsomeness of the students. The object was, to devise "how Scholars, guilty of various insolences, irregularities, quarrels and blows among themselves, or with the citizens, should be restrained from the said insolence. For that this redounded to the disgrace, not only of the Faculty of Arts, but of the whole University, and on occasion thereof citizens might be stirred to anger against the said scholars." Different punishments

* Prof. Vaughan, p. 85, note. Meiners, "The abuses continued still to be more powerful than the statutes. They renewed the old laws [there is no proof that there was any occasion to renew them, or that they were *renewed*, or had ceased to be in force] with as little fruit as when they attempted to check the new abuses through new laws." i. 140.

were allotted to offenders. If any were[†] Masters, (*quod absit*) they say, these were to be deprived of the honour, franchises, emoluments, and liberties of their degree, until there was a visible amendment of life. Any one who looked for a degree in that year, was to forfeit it for that year, and during pleasure. Bachelors of that year, and Scholars, were to be severely flogged in their Colleges. "Again, because when the shepherd is negligent, the stray sheep fall a prey to the wolf, and their blood will be required of his hands; it is decreed that the Pædagogues shall keep the said scholars duly enclosed." But since it was suspected that many of them were Martinets, (i. e. "vagrant" scholars, who fictitiously claimed to be scholars,) their names were to be given in, that they might be excluded from a degree. Bachelors were forbidden to go to the disputations in the Rue de Paille, because these brawls were planned there; Scholars were forbidden the recreation of the Champs or the Seine. The Pædagogue^{*} was to close his house "after Vespers, call over each of his scholars by name, and punish absentees." They were disgraceful scenes, but the evil was promptly, decisively, and vigorously met. They were the wanton excesses of over-bearing youth, such as there will always be in large numbers of youth, unsubdued by the grace of God. We also know too well, the words "town and gown;" and yet we should not say that

[†] Bul. v. 703. ^{*} Ib. 658. ^{*} "The Heads of Colleges." Meiners.

our Colleges were necessarily in fault, because such scenes were enacted by some of their members.

“And’ before the century ended, that is in 1487, the attempt at reform was again renewed.”

The reform of 1487 was again in the Faculty of Arts, and is thus summed up. It contains nothing of moment.

“It’ seemed good to the Faculty and the nation, that Students should be cut off from all plays; 2, that the principals and regents of Colleges and boarding houses, [Pædagogies] should keep their youth from swords and great clubs. 3. That no one should go to the Comic plays, without some Master to conduct him. 4. That the Comic players should not be clad with silk or over-sumptuous garments, under pain of loss of the degree.”

The statute of 1472 probably gave rise to the following picture; at least, the last trait is taken from it.

“Their * inmates [the inmates of the Colleges]

* Prof. Vaughan. Ib. Meiners says, “The old and new laws did so little good, that in 1487, the command had to be repeated, that the Heads and teachers of the Colleges should not let their pupils go about with poniards or clubs.” Meiners quotes the statute mentioning the Pædagogia, i. 140.

* Bul. v. 777.

* Prof. Vaughan, p. 84. “In 1472, the students committed so many and so great acts of violence, that the University itself was compelled to declare the disorder intolerable. They commanded therefore that the *Heads of Colleges* should call over every evening all the pupils in their house, and have the chambers of those absent, visited. Whoever was not found at these Visitations, was to be strictly admonished and

carried arms about the town, slept out at night, and committed such atrocities, that the University was compelled to interfere often with the interior discipline of the Houses, and passing laws forbidding the use of arms, and requiring the Heads to visit the chambers of the students, and to flog the absentees."

The dispute about bearing arms had been well-nigh as old as the University. The temptation was the stronger, when bearing arms was the characteristic of a gentleman. Within our fathers' memory, at least, an Englishman who did not wear a sword was slightly accounted of in Russia.

The very reunion of students from different nations, which were often perhaps scarcely or only recently at peace with one another, made the wearing of arms the more dangerous. Still more dangerous was the liability to quarrel with the burghers, whether on occasion of privileges of the University, or of the pricing of lodgings; although the result was sometimes that the scholars were killed unarmed.

Yet, however some students may have at times offended, arms were worn also on the defensive against violence offered them. A. 1230^b, the king, although not at first, gave judgment in favour of the University, which complained of violence of-

punished: and those punishments consisted in whipping, which were inflicted even on Bachelors." Meiners. Ib.

^b Ib. iii. 555. A. 1369, some of the scholars having been killed, the University applied to the Court and the King. Bul. iv. 425.

ferred to their scholars by the citizens of the suburb S. Marcel. "One student was unjustly killed." A. 1252, the king's brother made satisfaction to the University, "four Scholars, Clerks, having been killed or mortally wounded by the City Watchmen." A. 1280, the Monks of S. Germain and their servants, assaulted the scholars playing in the Pré aux Clercs, wounded many, and killed some. The Monks had to make what amends could be made.

But so far was it from being common for the students to bear arms and avenge themselves, that Gregory IX., A. 1231, gave the University permission to suspend their lectures, "if^d the valuation of the hospices be taken from you, or if (may it never be) any enormous injury or excess be inflicted upon you or any of you, such as death or mutilation of any member." And A. 1255, the University speaks of itself "as an *unarmed* multitude of foreigners, *upon whom atrocious and bodily injuries are frequently inflicted by the natives*; nor are we wont to have any other resource in prosecuting the aforesaid injuries, than generally to suspend our lectures, until the king is roused." They speak of this, as their "one only remedy." This power being neutralized, they say, "like scattered sheep, we are given over with impunity to the slaughters of the pestilent, and the inroads of the malignant."

Another remedy was to migrate. This was used both in Oxford, and in 1308 by the University of Orleans. That University, with consent of some

^d Bul. iii. 556.

of the citizens, had determined without the king's authority to publish some privileges given to them by the Pope. The citizens hearing of the intention, and thinking them an infringement of their rights, "broke" open doors and gates, and first with threats, then with stripes and blows, terrified and expelled doctors and scholars." Soon after, when they had obtained privileges from the king, there was a sedition against the University, in which a relation of the Pope was killed. The Pope laid the city under an interdict^f.

The University migrated to Nevers, but shortly returned, peace being restored.

Bulæus expressly attributes these excesses to the difficulty of restraining the students, not lodging in Colleges. In 1246, Innocent IV. directed that any scholar, who, having been thrice admonished not to wear arms, did not amend, should be at once deprived of all privileges of the University. The preamble set forth, "It^g hath come to our ears that *certain* scholars, although neither public nor private need require it, wear arms, whereby God and men are offended, the company of students is branded with infamy, and study also is frequently disturbed and even hindered." Bulæus subjoins, "*It was difficult at that time to constrain the Scholars, being dispersed, and living in various hospices and lodging with the citizens.*"

It appears, however, that in the then state of the

* Bul. iv. 103.

^f Ib. 107.

* Ib. iii. 144.

country, even right-minded scholars, in coming up to Paris, carried arms for their own protection ; as in the memory of some of our parents, people travelled with loaded pistols over Hounslow-heath. The official of the Church of Paris, A. 1218, in excommunicating persons who wore arms for wrong ends, expressly excepts " those who wore them in passing through the streets of Paris, on first coming there, or leaving it for some useful and honest business." The account of the class of persons, thus excommunicated, is horrible. It has been given not unfrequently as a picture of the times. But those who have given it, have mostly forgotten, 1. That the class was not a large one ; 2. that very probably they were not students at all ; 3. they were exterminated a few years afterwards. I may add, 4. the Colleges bore then no proportion whatever to the mass of students, or to what they became in the course of the 13th century. 1. They are spoken of as being "*some*," "*certain*," (nonnulli) and so not a large class. "It is^b frequently and continually attested to us, that there are in Paris some (nonnulli) Clerks and Scholars, with their servants relying on the folly of the Clerks, unmindful of their own salvation, not having the fear of God before their eyes, who, *feigning that they are leading the*

^b Even Tholuck (Acad. Leb. p. 261) overlooks this in quoting this passage as a set-off against Döllinger's "diligent collection of the complaints of contemporaries on the melancholy state of Morals at the Protestant German Universities." He adds also as separate evidence, a description of Paris in the thirteenth century, by Thurot, whose traits are taken from this one description of *certain* students, A. 1218. (Ib.)

scholastic life, often and often, trusting in arms, perpetrate unlawful and atrocious deeds.”

2. The students, at that time, enjoying civil privileges, there was a class of persons who gave out that they were students, and attended a few lectures now and then as a pretence. Their real object was to avail themselves of the immunities of Universities, as a protection in their sins. The same class appeared in Oxford soon after this, A. 1231, when the Paris students migrated there. “Among these,” says Ant. a Wood¹, “a company of varlets, who pretended to be scholars, shuffled themselves in, and did act much villainy in the University by thieving, fornicando, quarrelling, &c. They lived under no discipline, neither had they Tutors, but only for fashion sake would sometimes thrust themselves into the schools at ordinary lectures, and when they went to perform any mischief, then would they be accounted scholars, that so they might free themselves from the jurisdiction of the Burghers. Hereupon the Chancellor used his utmost power to extirpate them, but being all in vain, it was at length (through his often complaints) commanded by the King, that the Sheriff of the county, with the help and oversight of certain honest and legal men, should make proclamation throughout the town in the King’s name, that no clerk or scholar should stay therein that was not under the discipline or tuition of some Master of the Schools, after the term of fifteen days following ; and if any

¹ Annals, T. i. p. 206.

man were found to tarry beyond that time, they were to be taken and imprisoned."

Again, a century later, A.D. 1379, "divers^k complaints came to the king that there were several malefactors and perturbers of the peace as well among the men of Oxford as those in the neighbouring parts, who under pretence of being scholars of the University, had their meetings and unlawful conventicles, wandered up and down day and night, beat some, killed others that they met either in public or private places, robbed also and fired houses, committed spoils and wickednesses in contempt of the peace and to the disturbance of the quiet of the University, &c. those that were convicted of these misdemeanors were some imprisoned and others banished. But the prime ring-leaders being not in a possibility of taking, proceeded notwithstanding in their rogueries, for the most part without resistance of any; not imputed to the negligence of magistrates, but to the vast number of clerks now resident in the University, among whom they shuffled themselves and continually changed their stations. It is to be observed also, that when they had a mind to do evil, they would put on gowns and be scholars, but when in danger of being taken or punished, would throw them off and be laics. This practice was much used in this age, and I have known it several times used in my time, to the great scandal of the University."

Towards the close of the tumult about the "Pré

^k *Ib.*, p. 420, l.

aux Clercs¹," the Rector, Deans, Proctors, and some Heads of Gymnasia, hearing that there was a new tumult on the part of the scholars, went to the spot. Eight were taken up; seven were found to be mechanics' servants, the eighth to belong to a College-kitchen^m. The merchants and citizens who informed the Rector, were persuaded that they were students.

In 1231, Pope Gregory IX. forbade "the" scholars to go about armed through the city, and the University to defend the disturbers of peace and study." Yet here, too, we have the mention of a class which, not being students, sought to have their immunities as real scholars. "They who pretend that they are scholars and do not frequent schools, nor own any master, let them not have the privileges of scholars."

3. William, Bishop of Paris, who died A. 1223, exterminated these miscreants, imprisoning some and getting rid of others. "He" restored peace and security from such to the whole city." Those extreme horrors, then, so often given as a picture of the University, were ended within a few years.

The sins of others were, of course, no plea for the sins of the Students. Yet these sins are not brought home to the College-Students. On one occasion only, I believe, nearly a century after this, A. 1557, the whole University was for a time in uproar. There was a dispute^p about some new

¹ So called as belonging to the University.

^m Bul. vi. 513.

ⁿ Bul. iii. 141.

^o Ib. iii. 111.

^p The account is given at length in Bulæus, vi. 491—521, Crev. vi. 29 sqq.

building, raised on the University field, the Pré aux Clercs. A noble Student of Bretagne and an Advocate, with whom he was walking after dinner, had been shot in cold blood. The Parliament was slow to give redress. Some Students set the building on fire. Their leader was hung and afterwards burnt. The College-Students refused to give up their arms. Yet from first to last, the *tumult* was not from the College-Students. At the beginning Bulæus says, "The^a senate admonishes the youths to keep strictly in their Colleges. But the calamity increases daily. *The strangers who could not be held by the confinement of the Colleges*, confuse everything in the city; some are broken; some taken; some put to flight." To the Parliament the University says, "nothing^r whatever had been done or committed by the true Scholars studying in the Colleges, for whom the Principals are responsible, but by some seditious, who under the borrowed name of Scholars have committed the fault; that there are numberless Scholars and *Pædagogues* out of the Colleges, for whom the Rector and Principals are not responsible; the greater part of whom are indeed Scholars and Students; yet if there are Artizans and others mixed with them who had part in the tragedy, the correction or police therein cannot belong to the University, but to the king and the Court of Parliament."

The king acceded to what they asked.

In 1472, in which the College-Students were in

^a Ib. 499.

^r Bul., p. 491.

part concerned, there were petulances, insolences, not "atrocities." In 1477, "the^s Rector convoked notable men from each College and Pædagogy with the Proctors of the four nations, on account of a quarrel which had arisen on that day among the students who heard ethics." Some had been severely wounded. Speedy punishment was inflicted, and the quarrelling, as it seems, soon quelled.

In a great and corrupt capital, there must have been, and ever will be sin. Whether it would have been better to have removed the University from Paris altogether, is a question which the Heads of Colleges had not before them. They did what they could. And it appears from the account of the Colleges of Navarre, Sorbonne, Calvi, Laon, Plessis, that they did yield good and noble fruits. There is proof, that all along the University of Paris was accounted to be as "a river of God," "a fruitful field which God had blessed." The very reforms shew that there was no deep evil to be reformed as to the discipline of the Colleges. Those who were confessedly the least disciplined, belonged to that very class which the Commissioners wished to introduce into the University of Oxford, the "Martinets," i.e., Scholars living in private houses, and attending the public lectures. This class was done away with on account of its irregularities.

In the account of the Universities of Germany the question is much narrower. Prof. Vaughan

* Bul. v. 726.

applies to *Colleges* what Meiners says of the Bursæ or *Halls*.

“In Germany[†], the Collegiate institution took two separate forms—those of Colleges and Bursæ. The first were provided solely for poor scholars on the foundation. The second more nearly resembled modern Colleges, in so far as, from their first foundation, they consisted of Commoners, admitted into rooms, and provided in the course of time both with food and instruction within the establishments.”

The differences between a College and a Hall are, (1) that the College is endowed, and so the Head is independent of the scholars for his maintenance; (2) the College is a society, and has the strength of combined action in its governing body. The Hall was a house under one Master of Arts, who had, single-handed, to maintain its discipline, being himself entirely dependent upon his students for his support.

In both respects, the Bursæ corresponded to the Halls, not to the Colleges. Each Bursa was held by a single Master of Arts, who had no endowment, and was dependent upon his students. Meiners himself (Prof. Vaughan’s authority) compares the Bursæ to the extra-Collegiate “Pensions” at Paris.

“There” existed besides the Colleges, and their teachers and scholars, many other ‘Pensions,’ whose teachers and scholars were looked upon as belonging to the University, but for whose conduct the Rector

[†] p. 36, 7.

^{*} i. 146.

and Heads of Colleges did not hold themselves responsible. These Pensions corresponded to the institutions which in Germany were called Bursæ.

“The first Colleges and first Halls at Prague and Vienna, were in many respects different from those which were known in Paris towards the middle and in the latter half of the 14th century. The students in the German Colleges received board and lodging gratis, but no gratuitous instruction within the building. On the contrary, they had to attend the lectures of the public teachers of the University, and the Prefects of the Colleges had to see that this was done regularly. By the term Bursæ, in Germany, are meant ‘common dwellings of many students together under the superintendence of a *Master or Bachelor of Arts*.’ Benefactors founded in most Universities single Bursæ, where the students had to pay either a diminished or no room-rent, or where, besides free lodging, they had, at certain times, other support. *But such Bursæ were at all times the smallest number.* Most Bursæ were ‘Pensions,’ which were undertaken by graduates, and in which they who chose to live there, paid fixed prices for lodging, board, and other necessaries, and had to submit to the laws given for the Bursæ. The Rectors of the Bursæ either gave no instruction, or only repeated with its inmates the public lectures, or finally filled up their previous knowledge [of them] for which trouble the Rector, or his helpers, had a special payment. All, not wholly poor, had, before the close of the lectures, to pay

the public teachers of the University, whose lectures they had attended. The chief office of the Rector consisted in the superintendence of the morals and domestic diligence of their subjects, as also in the expenditure of the money sent for the support of the Bursarii."

In speaking of the English Universities, Meiners identifies our Hall with the German Bursa.

"Colleges* and Halls are distinct from one another, as in the older German Universities Colleges and Bursæ. Colleges are beneficent foundations for the support both of teachers and learners, Halls on the contrary are Bursæ, in which neither teachers nor learners are supported freely from incomes thereto belonging; but rather the Commoners' pay for lodging and board as was done in most German Bursæ."

Meiners further distinctly states "that the discipline of the Colleges was stricter than that of the Halls. 2. That the ground of this was the independence of its Head. 3. That the evils were owing to the Halls.

"The rule of the *Colleges was stricter than that of the Bursæ*, because the inspector of the College was independent of those under him. The Rectors of the Bursæ, on the other hand, had their living entirely from their lodgers and boarders, and thereby became too dependent upon them, to be able to

* Meiners, i. 263.

† So Meiners translates his own word *Pensionnârs*, p. 264.

‡ Meiners, i. 159.

exercise a strict discipline over them. All accounts out of the 16th century shew that the arrangement of *the Bursæ* was one of the principal causes of the decay of morals in the German Universities.

“The Rectors of the Bursæ in Germany imitated the Rectors of the Colleges in Paris. [i. e. the Pædagogues during the civil wars, of whom Meiners made Heads of Colleges]. They sought, through all conceivable means, to increase the number of their Bursarii^a, and one of these means consisted in sending out some of their inmates in order to way-lay new comers, and bring them to their *Magistri domus*. This Beani^b-chase could not but make the superintendents of the Bursæ contemptible, and those whom they employed therein, enjoyed to a certain degree immunity from punishment.”

This may or not be true; but this charge as to the general practice of the Rectors of Bursæ rests upon a single satirical letter of the author of the *Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum*, in which he represents an individual as thus speaking of the head of his Bursa.

Meiners proceeds: “As the superintendents of the Bursæ employed unallowed arts to obtain inmates, so they employed the like in order not to lose them. The Rectors of Bursæ not only did not report the offences of the Bursarii, but sought in every way to suppress or to soften them; and the

^a In Prof. Vaughan, “They canvassed in a degrading manner for Commoners.”

^b Beanus, the French Bejaune, “a nestling,” a title given at Paris and in German Universities to new-comers.

University authorities were just as forbearing, so soon as they heard that some of their inmates were among the disturbers of the peace, fighting, &c., for fear that if any one were reported, or punished, he should entice all the rest of the inmates, and induce them to leave their present Bursa^c.”

This, too, Meiners rests on a single satirical statement^d.

No part, then, of Professor Vaughan's description has the slightest bearing upon German *Colleges*; it would, at most, only shew how *Halls* might be abused. This will appear the more, if we refer to the Reformation at Ingolstadt, which is the supposed basis of the description.

The University of Ingolstadt was founded in 1450;

* Hence Prof. Vaughan, “They interfered not only indirectly, but directly, with the discipline of the Universities; for whensoever an offence was committed by a student of their own, they interfered actively to shelter and conceal him from the authorities of the University. They did not venture to punish delinquents themselves, lest they should lose them.” He subjoins, “the evils depicted here are proved by the laws which mention them, and provide against them; and such laws are *needlessly corroborated by other evidence*.” (Ib. note.) But for the above statements the only evidence is the above satire.

^d Another statement of Meiners I cannot as yet verify; “The Bursæ were commonly favoured by a privilege to import without duty foreign liquors, in Erfurt for example, Naumburg beer. Such a privilege often brought with it abuses of two sorts. The presidents and members of the Bursæ began to deal in foreign liquors, and the Rectors even encouraged their Bursarii to drink too much. In both cases, the free import of foreign liquors was restricted or removed.” For the whole of this, Meiners only refers to Motschmann *Erfordia Illustrata*, p. 651, from which one statute (which he does not quote) he infers the practice of all Bursæ in Germany. Prof. Vaughan follows him. “They obtained privileges and advantage in the sale of foreign wines, which led them to become in some respects mere taverns. Their officers encouraged the students to overdrink themselves.” p. 87.

by Louis the Rich, and confirmed by a Bull of Pius II. A. 1459. The final erection was deferred by the wars until A. 1472, when it was further endowed by Louis the Rich, in conjunction with his son, George the Rich^o.

The reform required in A. 1562, related to the *University*, not, or scarcely to, the *College*.

There were *then* three classes of students: 1. The foundationers, and those who lived in the College. Of these we hear no more than that some of the cities, which had the right of nomination, had abused that right, and sent unqualified persons. 2. Those who lived in the Bursæ or Halls. Some of the Masters of these were very negligent, preferred feasting to the good of their pupils or their own studies, and let the young men run wild. 3. Those who lived in the town without any preceptor at all. This last was the wildest class, and among them were—not in *our* sense, “beneficed and Cathedral Clergy”;

* Rotmar. in Ann. Ing. i. p. xx.

† Prof. Vaughan, p. 88, 9. “Chief among the corruptors of youth were the beneficed and Cathedral Clergy, &c. They thronged the streets; they seduced and corrupted the young by their examples, even to their perishing both in fortune, in body and soul. In this condition of things, and chiefly if not solely on account of this class of dangerous profligates, the authorities attempted to remedy the evil,” &c. Meiners iv. 85, 6. “The Members of Cathedral or Collegiate Chapters, Bishops, and Prelates, sent Canonici, Regular and Secular Clergy to Universities, that they might finish their studies. Neither those who sent them, nor the University authorities, could think of giving superintendents to grown-up men. Even these secular and regular clergy of mature age were infected with the coarseness and corruption of their times. The Duke complains of the Canons and other Clergy as being the very wildest among the students at Ingolstadt, who not only ruined themselves, but also seduced their younger fellow-citizens.”

who now, at an advanced age, frequented the *Universities*^s for the sake, or on the pretence, of instruction ;” but—youth belonging to the Cathedrals, and supported by them and by Prebends. It was, of course, a miserable abuse of the means of the Church, a great scandal ; and it was felt as such. Yet it was much the same, probably, as when any of our scholars have unhappily fallen into very evil ways. How those who sent them, came so to neglect them, we know not. However, Duke Albert says expressly that they were “youths,” not men ; much less “men of an advanced age.”

I will give first the preamble to the “reformation of the statutes,” in which he sets forth the existing evils, and then his proposed remedies.

“Whereas^b we have received frequent information, that various, and those no slight defects, abuses, or inconveniences, have hitherto crept into our University of Ingolstadt, viz., that some of the Professors not only cease from their wonted diligence, but also, making a schism, are in conflict with one another, through contentions, emulations, and machinations of divers sorts. Moreover, that *Masters and Preceptors* are torpid in forming the literate youth committed to their care, and imbue it neither with piety, nor good morals, nor right discipline, as their good faith requireth. Whereas, also, we have learnt and know certainly, that such are more diligently devoted to banquetings and par-

^s i. e. Ingolstadt. For there is no reference to any other.

^b Ann. Ingolst. iv. 295, 6.

ties night and day, than either to their private studies, or to the good of their pupils; whom they allow, left to themselves, to grow up too unrestrained. Moreover, we even find that the other youths, who live there for the sake of study without preceptors, especially those belonging to Chapters¹ and certain stipendiaries, who live on prebends and alms, lead a life altogether dissolute, culpable, and light, consume in self-indulgence all their money, pass their time without profit, fraudulently impose upon their parents, guardians, friends, and superiors, and foully lead astray very many youths, hitherto inno-

¹ Canonici. Du Cange mentions Canonici Domiciliares, i. e. "younger canons, who not having attained the ecclesiastical degree, have not the right of Chapter. The younger sons of nobles they called Domicelli." He quotes the Synod. Mogunt. A. 1549, (thirteen years only before this reformation,) whose bishops say: "Hitherto in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches (at least as to that which our forefathers, not without great reason, decided, that the younger canonici, whom they call domicellares, should not forthwith, upon receiving benefices, be admitted to Chapters, but be kept for a time under the yoke of Prelates) very negligent watch has been kept, not without injury to the Churches; in that they to whom the care belonged, little heeding the studies or manners of the domicellares, without further selection, so that they had passed a certain time in possession of the benefice, or had paid the money appointed for the emancipation, admitted any whatever to the Chapters, even those whom they knew not to be qualified either by honesty of life or learning, nor likely to be useful to the Churches. Whence Churches are sometimes burdened with an unprofitable crowd of canonici, and are not duly administered either in temporals or spirituals." The Council accordingly enjoined Prelates, Chapters, &c., to "remove from the dignity and émolument of the Chapter those who were given up to bad morals and idleness, until they shall, through amendment of life, seem to deserve that place; or, should they be perseveringly obstinate and incorrigible, to compel them, by remedies of law, to quit their benefices, as incapable, and insufficient, and unqualified." The Council calls them "the ecclesiastical youth," can. 86. Conc. xix. 1431, ed. Col.

cent ; giving them occasion, at the very entrance of a course of study and virtue, to relax, and wholly to fail.

“To this is added a degree of disorder in our new College ; that sometimes stipends are given to persons of no capacity nor qualification, who neither order their studies, as was directed by the Founders, nor give what diligence they ought to learning and sober living.”

Duke Albert complains of negligence and quarrels among Professors ; carelessness and self-indulgence among Masters and Preceptors ; dissoluteness of the non-Collegiate students ; but of the College-students idle and sluggish ways only.

The “Master” moreover “or Preceptor” was a sort of private tutor, who had more or fewer pupils in his house, whom he took at his own responsibility. The statute of amendment as to this class, runs thus :—

“It^k has been reported to us, that the youth in our University is in many ways foully neglected, and has hitherto been beyond measure oppressed by outlays and fees.

“We therefore ordain that *domestic Preceptors*, who either undertake to teach pupils in our University, or bring them from elsewhere, spare no pains or industry in instructing them faithfully ; and for themselves and their pupils, prudently beware of the society of perverse men ; set them a bright example of honest conversation ; and so keep

^k Ib. 304—307.

them in discipline and innocence of life, that their parents and relations may not thereafter complain that they, being in our University either seduced or lost, together with the waste of time, expend whatever be the cost, in vain.

“ For this cause, it would not be alien from the office of the Rector and Senate of the University, to observe *Preceptors of this sort*, and ascertain carefully how they conduct themselves; each half-year, or after the lapse of the whole year, (when according to the new constitution they meet to consider all matters necessary to the school), call before them all preceptors, require of them separately the names and number of their pupils, and enquire diligently of each, what they read to their pupils, and how they themselves act.

“ But since the licence and levity of the youth is even chiefly caused thereby, that the greater number of preceptors, so soon *as they have come* to Ingolstadt, and, having obtained the *honor of being Masters*, have undertaken *the office of Pædagogues*, apply their minds to some Faculty, and set up an intricate house-keeping for many boarders; and are so given up to this care that they sometimes not only do not instruct their pupils, but even allow them to wander up and down the streets, day and night, whence in part they become idle, in part, circumvented by the snares of the wicked, are cast headlong to extreme destruction.

“ We, willing to meet this evil, maturely and earnestly command, that no one of those who have

given themselves to any faculty shall take charge of above eight or ten pupils to teach, nor have more boarders than one table can hold.

“ In like way no one hereafter in our University, who lectures publicly in Arts and at the same time shall take *the domestic* charge of three or four pupils, shall give his mind to any higher Faculty. Nor shall they, who at the same time undertake *the office of Pædagogues* and attempt some higher faculty, so long as they intend to employ themselves on both, have the office of public teaching bestowed upon them : and this partly, that their pupils may be instructed with more care and fruit, partly that the Preceptors may not be distracted with the multitude of studies and labours.

“ We will, moreover, that *the Preceptors*, whether they have many or few pupils, shall not quit the city for above three days without leave of the Rector or members of the Senate ; and that, on condition that they substitute some one in their place when absent, or commit their pupils to some other who may take very good care of them.

“ Further, let no *Preceptor*, when about to leave his state of life, set about to depart from this our University, unless he have given two months’ notice to his pupils, their parents, relations, guardians, members of Chapters, Provosts, that they may the more maturely and conveniently look out for other learned Preceptors. Nor let him betake himself elsewhere, without having first explained to the Rector and two Senators, how and to whom, with

consent of parents, he leaves and gives over his pupils.

“Conversely, neither may the pupils, without knowledge of their parents, relations, guardians, members of Chapters, Magistrates, and moreover without asking the Rector and two Senators, exchange their real Preceptors for others, much less cast aside the yoke of the Preceptor altogether. If any be found to attempt this, let them be brought before the Rector forthwith by *their former Pædagogues*, to meet the due blame and punishment. If the Preceptors be silent as to this, let them receive the same penalty as their pupils.

“We will also, and seriously enjoin, that all Preceptors, enrolled in certain faculties or lecturing publicly, shall, while they are publicly teaching or hearing, at their own expense, set over their pupils (whom they shall not take with them) such substitutes as their pupils may respect and look up to, and by whose care they may be kept at home in their duties.

“Moreover we ordain that Preceptors who shall have as boarders *out of the College*, their own or any other pupils, shall hereafter, for eight days’ food, not receive from any of any age, above half a florin, and through Lent not above half a dollar; yet according to the price of corn, at the arbitrement of the Rector and Senate; and let the premium for undertaking a boy’s [puerilis] instruction not exceed ten florins. From this, however, we except Princes, Counts, Barons, and those who, by special agreement, have

come with their own special Preceptors, not involved in any other office of teaching.

“As to lodging, firing, candles, bedding, and washing, as far as is necessary, let the Preceptors, in obtaining and supplying them, so act towards their pupils, that they seem not to burden them with too great expenses, contrary to the rule of equity. In giving and selling to their pupils wine, (which the Preceptors are wont to store up in their houses,) let them be content with a slight profit, of one penny only for each measure, under a penalty to be appointed, in proportion to the nature of the offence, to those who transgress this.”

After such amendments, the Duke closes this section of the reform by facilitating the admittance into the College, for the sake of the better discipline of the students.

“And¹ in order that, when they first enter upon the office of Pædagogue, they may, together with their pupils, betake themselves the more readily to live *in our new College, and that thus they may more easily keep in their duty and discipline the literary youth, being inclosed*, we will and enjoin, that as many dwellings as shall be vacant, shall be let to them gratis, on condition that they keep them up at their own costs, and whatever they or theirs shall have destroyed or broken, as fire-places, windows, &c., they have repaired.”

The next portion of the statute relates to the students, neither in College, nor under Præceptors.

¹ Ib. 307, 8.

“ Since^m we have learnt by certain experience, that very many students, and especially certain Canonici, and others of the same sort enjoying Ecclesiastical benefices, act negligently, foully, and so as to be found at vintners’ much oftener than in the schools, and to wander about the streets more than sit to their books; and moreover that, so far from being ashamed of their lightness and wantonness, they hurry others with them to destruction, and by their ill example give occasion to youth, shaking off the yoke of their Præceptors, so to lapse into this most dissolute and abandoned life, as not only to wear

^m p. 309—11. Cardinal Pole had to make a regulation on the same subject in his *Reformatio Angliæ*, at the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary. He says expressly that this class delayed, on the ground of study, the taking of those orders to which they would have been otherwise bound. “ But of those to whom, for the sake of study, it has been allowed, for a certain time, not to be advanced to those orders, to which, by reason of the benefices which they hold, they ought to be advanced; and yet, in their absence to receive the fruits [of the benefices] since many [plerique] do not reside in any of the Universities, in which the whole range of study is carried on, but in places where there is neither exercise nor practice of study: and no few even of those who live in Universities, do any thing else rather than give themselves to letters; therefore, that none may profit by fraud or deceit in this matter, we command all the ordinaries of places, that henceforth before they grant to any one under their jurisdiction such indulgence, they enquire diligently whether he be apt for the study of letters, or whether those disciplines, to which he professes that he will give himself, are such as suit him, and will be useful to the Church; or whether he ask for this licence rashly or fraudulently, which licence if, all things maturely considered, they think fit to grant him, let them take care to know in what place he lives, what life he leads, and what progress he makes in letters. But if they learn that he lives idly, or makes no progress in letters, let them both recall the permission, and by withdrawal of the fruits and other remedies of law, compel him to receive the orders to which he is bound, and to residence.” *Reformat. Angliæ*, p. 203 v.—204 v.

away their early life with no fruit, and mis-spend any expenses of their parents, or the produce of Prebends, but to run headlong into extreme destruction of soul, body, and estate; which, since no good account thereof can be given either to God, or to their parents, or Præfects, we may not endure.”

Duke Albert accordingly directs,

“Let the Rector and Senate, without delay, summon all such, noble or ignoble, graduate or no, who live out of the College, and without the care of præceptors, and enquire of each, of what family they are born, with whom they live, how old they are, how diligently they give themselves to letters.

“And let them praise the industrious and well-conditioned youth, exhort them to go on in the way that they have begun, and deter them from associating with the evil. But the vagabond and the idle let them rebuke, and goad to diligence and study, threatening them that they would otherwise send them back to their Patrons, Priors^a, and Præfects, and wholly exclude them from the University.

“If any of them should not have yet attained their 17th or 18th year, or if others of that age should come here, we do not think that they are to be left to themselves, but they are to be compelled without delay to submit themselves to the discipline of some honest and learned Præceptor. But if any, being contumacious, neglect this, the Rector and Senate shall forthwith report this by letter to their

^a Curatores, so Du Cange.

parents and others set over them, that unless they will compel their son, relation, or client, to submit to this our plan of reformation, to the benefit of their studies, and the salvation of body and soul, they would, even against their will, for the preservation of good discipline and the performance of this our mandate, be compelled to 'exclude them from the University, whereas they had otherwise determined to spare most carefully the reputation of parents and guardians.

“ But, in order that such as, without any control of Præceptor, hear no lectures, or otherwise wander about, and mis-spend their time, may be animadverted on the more carefully, we will that all, who have, or may, come to our University, and been received by the Rector into the Album of the University, and by him been warned of this our Reformation, shall within 8 days give their names to the Dean of the Faculty on which they propose to enter, and exhibit to him, at least every two months, testimonials from the Professor of that Faculty, that they have spent the greater part of that time in attending lectures.

“ If meanwhile any thing amiss happen to any of these idle and contumacious, then let them not enjoy the privileges of the other students who diligently do their duty, unless any thing of this sort shall have happened without their will. And let not the Professors easily or through favour give testimonials to all; but only to such as they know to be diligent and to deserve the same.

“The same severity too we will to be used as to the Canonical [Students] and the rest who are supported by prebends and ecclesiastical goods ; and that the University-licence of the Notary be restrained, so that, neither corrupted by bribes nor induced by fears, shall he alone give letters testimonial of the completion of the terms, but shall do this, only with consent of the Dean and of the Professor of the Faculty in which the student has inscribed himself, and with the subscription and seal of the same, unless he chooses to incur a penalty, to be inflicted at will by the Rector and Senate of the University.

“What moreover shall seem necessary for the preservation of good discipline and the promotion of the good of the youth (as forbidding unbecoming and light dress, and restraining other immodesty) let the Rector and the Senate, having weighed these things, at the first opportunity, dispose, enact, and execute them according to the tenor of the statutes and their oaths.”

Then follows a chapter about “the New College and the Stipendiarii,” in which there are directions about the preservation of the building, the price of commons, the appointment of a Regent to keep in right discipline the stipendiaries and inmates, and accordingly, sometimes in each week, to visit their dwellings by day or by night, to urge them to finish their course with diligence, and to restrain the idle, the negligent, and transgressors, with prison or other punishments.

The only reform is as to certain cities who sent unqualified students as stipendiaries. These were to be admonished on any vacancy, to send "qualified candidates, of the age of 16, and moderately grounded in the rudiments of grammar; else the Rector and Senate would fill up the place with more qualified and more diligent students."

Three years' stipend were to be added for the study of Theology.

Such are all the regulations of this reform, bearing upon this subject. It is careful, practical. Patronage had been exercised amiss by certain cities who possessed nominations. The College students were dull; but while there was all that miserable licentiousness among the other students, those of the College are spoken of as only sluggish.

And now, it is of so much importance at this moment, that ancient institutions should not be run down unjustly, that Professor Vaughan will not, I hope, think it invidious, if I briefly exhibit the picture which he gave from Meiners, and, in contrast with it, the real data.

This first picture is of all the *French* Colleges.

"These institutions, for a short season, and with a circumscribed operation, answered their purpose. They were, however, very commonly corrupted by the Heads and Tutors within a few years from their first Institution."

Neither Meiners nor Professor Vaughan adduce any evidence whatever of the Colleges being corrupted by their Heads and Tutors.

The reforms mentioned are slight, at long intervals; and the one College of Navarre, to which alone Meiners refers in proof of this alleged early corruption, was in the main in a good state, at the very time of the reform. No evidence is given of early corruption; there *is* evidence of the abundant good fruit from Colleges.

"Those who were appointed Tutors and Teachers purchased their posts, and received no salaries, but drew their profits out of the property of the Colleges, and the slender means of students."

The only datum for this, is that *some Ushers* seem about 1451 to have paid the *schoolmasters* for their board; and *some in Arts* to have paid for their Regency. This would relate to the University, not the Colleges.

"Trades were set up and practised, within College walls, and by the Tutors themselves."

During the civil war, some Medical and Legal Masters and Scholars who were in *practice*, resided in Colleges which were probably half-emptied. This was stopped in 1421, and does not recur.

"The Heads of Houses conspired with each other against the student, by meeting together and fixing extravagant prices for the food, and lodging, and instruction which were given."

"*The Heads of Houses*" were *some Masters* who set up grammar schools, with ushers under them. There is no proof, that the prices were very "extravagant." The statement relates to certain *schoolmasters* in 1451, and also arose out of the civil wars.

"Having done this, they counterplotted each other by going round through the streets, and haunting low inns and alehouses,

in which they cajoled the strange, idle, and unwary students to take up their abodes within their College-walls."

There is nothing about "College-walls," nor about "cajoling," or "low inns." *Some schoolmasters* in 1451, looked out in an unseemly manner, for pupils among the new comers; who, on their first arrival, if they had no friends in Paris, would naturally be at an inn. It was an abuse of that time only, not relating to Colleges, but to the private speculations of Masters, who set up schools.

"With their chambers, and their tables, and their lecture-rooms thus filled, they feared to scare these Commoners away again by discipline of any kind."

Their "Commoners" were their school-boys. The grave injunction of Cardinal d'Estouteville, does not imply absence of "discipline of any kind."

"They charged enormously for foul, insufficient nourishment."

Certainly *some schoolmasters* may have asked too much, and some may have been at times stingy. But the two directions,—both of them occurring after the civil wars to which any irregularity (whatever it was) was attributed, do not imply an habitual state. A mere injunction to provide clean wholesome nourishment, or "nothing but what is healthy and suitable, and withal enough," does not imply that it was the habitual practice of all to "charge *enormously* for *foul*, insufficient nourishment."

Our College leases I believe, generally require that the corn-rent "reserved" should be paid in "good, sweet, clean, and well-winnowed wheat,"

and "good, seasonable, sweet and well-dried malt." It would be hard to infer from this, that all College Lessees had, till this provision was made, paid their corn-rents in bad, foul, mouldy, unwinnowed or undried wheat and malt.

"The instruction was of the most perfunctory kind. It consisted merely in the dictation of the text of authors; and the teachers *often* handed over their manuscripts to some student, who read them aloud to his fellows."

The statement relates to "*some* Regent Masters," A. 1452; neither to Colleges nor even to Pædagogies, but to University lecturers. The latter part was forbidden under pain of excommunication.

"The *Tutors*, being Masters of the University, conducted the examination with scandalous partiality, plucking the men of *other* Colleges without reason, and grossly favouring their own men."

Some Pædagogues, being Examiners, did this *against all the Colleges*, and the pupils of other Pædagogues.

"Their inmates carried arms about the town, slept out at night, and committed such *atrocities*, that the University was compelled to interfere often with the interior discipline of the Houses, and passed laws forbidding the use of arms, and requiring the Heads to visit the chambers of the students every evening and to flog the absentees."

"Atrocities" were at one time committed, probably not by real members of the University. The close of the picture belongs to some insolences in 1472.

Professor Vaughan's summary as to the French Colleges is :

"*Many* of the Colleges then gradually wrought their own destruction, others maintained *their existence, to which the long wars*

of the 15th century *in part contributed*; for the College walls furnished shelter and security to the persons of students who, at such a time, would have been both annoyed and demoralized, and every way endangered, in the streets and houses of the citizens. In all cases, the Colleges were deemed fit receptacles for young students chiefly or solely; that is, the students in Arts, who were generally under sixteen years of age."

Rather some few Colleges were dilapidated *through* the civil wars, during which wars, however, the University attests that she herself owed her existence to the Colleges. Had the rest of the account been true, they would have been "fit receptacles" for no one.

The picture as to *Germany* begins;

"In Germany the Bursæ more nearly resembled modern Colleges, in so far as, from their first foundation, they consisted of Commoners, admitted into rooms, and provided in the course of time both with food and instruction within the establishments."

They were *Halls*, set up by Masters of Arts, and under statutes.

"These institutions were very unfavourable to the morality of the young. They obtained privileges and advantages in the sale of foreign wines, which led them to become in some respects mere taverns. Their officers encouraged the students to over-drink themselves."

Whatever was forbidden, the authority for such forbiddance is one statute once passed at Erfurt.

"They canvassed in a degrading manner for Commoners."

i. e. for members of their *Hall*. The authority, one Satire.

"They interfered, not only indirectly, but directly, with the discipline of the Universities; for whensoever an offence was committed by a student of their own, they interfered actively to

shelter and conceal him from the authorities of the University. They did not venture to punish delinquents themselves, lest they should lose them."

i. e. In one Satire^m a student is introduced picturing the Master of his Hall as so doing. But there *is* a risk, lest those who set up *Halls*, and depend entirely upon their pupils, should be too dependent upon them.

"They either merely repeated the public lectures or gave no instruction at all. *The Heads of Houses* not only neglected, but encouraged by their example their pupils to all evil. Some few devoted themselves to their private studies, that they might obtain higher degrees."

This belongs to the private tutors, who set up boarding-houses or Halls, and would rather be a warning as to changes now proposed.

"Those evils quoted by Dr. P. as incident to the 16th century and Professorial *influence* were occasioned mainly by the *Colleges* and *Halls*."

I did *not* say a word about "Professorial *influence*," but of the destruction of the Collegiate system. There is no proof against the Colleges. The College of Ingolstadt was safer for the student than the Halls.

"By the University Statutes at Ingolstadt it was enacted that University Officers should summon before them *the Heads of Houses*, and ascertain the condition as to the morals and industry, both of the Masters and pupils, and should warn, punish, or remove them accordingly."

^m I said in my Evidence (p. 54), "Meiners mentions that the Rectors of the Bursæ, being dependent upon their students, connived at their irregularities, for fear they should leave him and go to others. But he quotes only a single authority, and that, a satire."

This relates to the private tutors, who formed Halls, as it is now purposed they should do ; but I see nothing of punishing the Masters.

“ Chief among the corruptors of youth were *the beneficed and Collegiate Clergy*, who *now at an advanced age* frequented the Universities for the sake, or on the pretence, of instruction. They thronged the streets, they seduced and corrupted the young by their example, even to the perishing both in fortune, in body, and soul.”

The *young students, not under the care of the Preceptors*, especially (perhaps as the wealthiest) some of those sent by the Chapters, who enjoyed some prebends, ran wild and corrupted others.

“ Chiefly, if not solely, on account of this class of dangerous profligates, the authorities attempted to remedy the evil by requiring all under a certain age (sixteen or seventeen years) to take some private Tutor.”

Rather, since the young, left to themselves, ran wild, all under 17 or 18, among them the Chapter-students", were required to do, what some did already.

But amid all this, *the* College of Ingolstadt was free from blame, except that some of its students were sluggish. The Duke, in this reform, en-

* Wood mentions a decree of a synod of Canterbury about A. 1430, about beneficed youths. “The Chancellors or Vice-Chancellors of both Universities, shall at their first admission to their office take an oath, (and without such oath they shall not be admitted,) that twice in each year they shall make special requisition as to unapt and unqualified persons in each College, Hall or Hospice. But if they shall find there any *beneficed youths*, given to no study, living in idleness and pleasure, let them not fail with all speed to inform their Diocesans, Bishops or Ordinaries, where they are beneficed. These shall presently compel them canonically to residence in their Parochial Churches, and the charity of hospitality, which under the veil of study these indolent persons have fraudulently subtracted &c.” i. 575.

couraged the reception of students into *the* College, as safer for them.

To such evidence as this against French and German *Colleges*, Meiners adds an account of English Universities which he had never seen. He "claims," Professor Vaughan says, "to have made a careful and critical use of his materials. He could have no party object in view." It may have been "object" enough to assign the superiority to the German system. The materials of which he made this "critical" use, are, as to Oxford, a libellous pasquinade* published in 1726; as to Cambridge, an attack of a superannuated fellow of Trinity upon Dr. Bentley, who had removed him from a medical fellowship which he held, being a lawyer.

On such evidence as this we are told, "The very author whose industry and judgment have collected and recorded them, [statements as to German Universities] has left us little reason to triumph in the contrast and advantage afforded by a Collegiate system. After a long and patient review of evils which it would be tedious to quote, he thus concludes: 'If the nature of the English was not endowed so richly, both in intellect and feeling, the

* I had stated this in my Evidence, p. 61, as to Oxford. "Meiners, who himself records all this, and more than this, himself declares against the Collegiate system, every where, chiefly on the authority of a libellous pasquinade, published in Oxford in 1726. He owns that he knows not what the English Universities were before or afterwards. 'We know, (he writes A. 1802) much better what the English Universities actually *are*, or were a century ago, [i. e. A. 1726] than how they gradually became what they *are*.' i. 169."

two Universities would have shed over the noblest portion of the people disgraceful ignorance and profligacy.' ”

I will supply the picture. After speaking of what is a case of conscience, the oath to observe the statutes, he gives this summary ;

“The^p teachers taught not what they ought to teach ; the students learnt not what they ought to learn. All useful sciences were shut out ; and the heads of young people were turned through dead philology and scholastic speculation. The youth were subjected to a more than monkish discipline, but their morals and manners were left in a most unjustifiable way to grow wild. An unheard-of self-government of the Universities as Corporations, produced disgraceful anarchy on the one side, and a revolting despotism on the other. Uproar and arbitrary power raged unpunished, innocence and merit were maltreated and expelled, so that neither could satisfaction be procured for the one, nor worthy reward for the other. If nature had not given the English such good dispositions in intellect and heart, and thereby so noble a Constitution to the people, the two Universities would long since have spread over the noblest portion of the people disgraceful ignorance and folly.”

But when we come to details, we find only such statements as these. “A portion of the Fellows is always already indebted to the Heads of the Colleges. Others expect the like, and in this expectation agree

^p Meiners, p. 291.

with their Heads. Others *fear the revenge of their immediate superiors, if they do not give way to them in all things.* The Universities can oppress those belonging to them, while the oppressed can find no help anywhere. Almost in the same way are the Heads of Colleges Lords over their Fellows and those under them¹."

"In Convocations and congregations," he says, "there rules, not only an entire ignorance of law, but almost always a vehement party spirit."

The cases of "oppressed innocence" are the supposed persecution of "the friends of the revolution of 1688, and of the followers of George I.," upon which he makes this appeal, "Can we wonder that Corporations so numerous, always impelled by passions and decayed through party spirit, which possess so much power as the English Universities, and have no court of appeal over them, abuse that power in the most frightful way, and that slavish cringing and giving-way are the only means of escaping the persecution of such absolute superiors?"

"Of the extent and abuse of the arbitrary power in both the English Universities, no more convincing proofs can be brought than the two following modes of proceeding, which are founded on the statutes, and of which the one has been often employed against Students, the other against other inhabitants of the University cities." And then from

¹ Meiners adds in a note, p. 270, "the author of 'the opinion of an eminent lawyer,' &c. p. 49, denies this."

² p. 973.

the aforesaid pasquinade, he gives an account of 1. the Proctors' 'black book,' 2. the power of stopping degrees, and 3. of discommoning tradesmen!

Such are Meiners' authorities with regard to our moral discipline, and such his "critical use" of them.

But "Meiners" expressly says, that in the 18th century the German Universities were *acknowledged* to be superior to any other in Europe, and the Protestant German to the Catholic German." But by whom was this "acknowledged?" Meiners does not say. Certainly it has not been acknowledged, and that with reason, by English Universities; it has not been acknowledged, and with reason also, by German Catholics; it has been acknowledged only by those who boast in their own cause. Human art delighted in painting men vanquishing lions. "What," said the fable, "if the lions had been the painters?"

Bp. Lowth knew Oxford well as a Fellow of New College, which he entered in 1730, a few years after the date of the pasquinade which supplies Meiners with his caricature. The following is Bp. Lowth's contrast between Collegiate Oxford in the eighteenth century, and Oxford before the University was "absorbed by the Colleges."

"Carry' back your minds to those times when, without fixed abodes, without homes of their own, men who studied here, wandered at will, scattered

* Prof. Vaughan, p. 90.

* Oratio Crewiana, A. 1751. The beauty of his language is lost in my translation.

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and dispersed throughout the city; inhabitants rather of taverns and cook-shops than guests of the Muses and denizens of the Academy. As was their abode, such was their mode of living. Their dwelling was not more unrestrained than their life. It shames me to relate, how often in this home of discipline and civilization there reigned concupiscence and savageness: what barbarism of factions, what phrenzy of discord, what fury and licence in fighting, and even slaughter, when in that confused and countless multitude, unknown, unclassified, uncontrolled by any domestic rule, they prowled about unbridled.

“Mark the dates, and we shall find that this savageness then began to soften and to wane, when those great patrons or rather parents of letters, whose memory, for their deserts to their country, is blessed for evermore, had built houses here, and formed societies, wherein men, given to study, might not only be supplied with the necessaries and decencies of life, but, while they availed themselves not the less of the public institutions of the University, might be held in by private discipline adapted to themselves, and by a regulated life; and being committed to the care of their governor, as of a father of a family, and having instructors of their own, no less in morals than in literature, might be formed more carefully and more holily to all humanity, virtue and piety. To these men, then, we owe in great measure, not only the magnificence and splendour of the University, but, what adorns the Uni-

versity much more, the cultivation of a greater refinement and courtesy of life, tranquillity, concord, order, moderation, and a more entire rule of liberal education. To them we owe that peculiar form of the Academic body, which is part of the glory of the English nation, and which we have in common with Cambridge only, that most flourishing University, our most beloved Companion and Compeer. Looking at each English University, I see as many complete Universities as there are Colleges; many cities, as it were, united by one common bond of alliance and society; of which many, by themselves, surpass many entire Universities, of no mean repute in foreign nations, in splendour of building, largeness of possessions, copiousness of literary production, and (what is chief) in a discipline well ordered in gravity and holiness."

To this description of the effects of Collegiate discipline he adds this panegyric on Collegiate study.

"When first these public lectures began to be instituted, the inner and more perfect knowledge of the Sciences was not so common; nor were men to be readily found, who could explain with adequate nicety and fulness, the elements of the art. There was besides great lack of good books. People had to seek abroad what they had not at home. So then well-disposed youths went in crowds to the Schools, heard the Public Professor as an oracle, and hung upon him. When nearly an hour had passed away, they had to course up and down, to another and then another, the one expediting himself

from the tangles of Logic, the other gathering the flowers of Rhetoric. At last, they returned home, bringing back full little volumes, whence (how, I know not,) with great labour, out of a great farrago of things, they extracted a little something which might be of use. Other is the aspect of things now ; far greater the convenience of studies ; letters flourish, various, manifold, wider, more diffused. Abundance of books of all sorts are at hand, both in College libraries and in the studies of individuals ; there is no lack of many teachers in the several Colleges, eminent for learning, with whom at home young men study more conveniently, steadily, diligently, regularly, and with much greater fruit ; so that now for a long time the office of public Professor is, with reason, mostly accounted rather the reward of eminent learning and distinguished merit in literature, than as wages for great and continuous labour. They then act perversely and unjustly who ask of our Professors those elementary and every-day precepts of old times, in that they would call us back to a mode of study less useful and clear, or ask that of them, which however much they will it, they cannot perform."

Colleges are in their own nature better fitted, in every way, for both intellectual discipline and moral training than Halls. Intellectually, the revival of Halls under a single Master is only the introduction of a plan which has already failed. It is altogether retrograde. It compels the Master to teach

on all subjects—an intellectual disadvantage, from which, in large Colleges, we are being freed, and from which we might be altogether freed ; or else it casts the students on the information which they might glean from the delivered lectures of the Professor.

But, morally, it is an evil to give to a large class of men an inchoate right to be licensed by the University to educate. If such an inchoate right to educate were given to every M.A., upon obtaining a licence, he would have a presumptive right to the licence itself. He would not have to shew that he was morally qualified for it ; rather the authority licensing would have to shew cause why he refused it. It could be refused only in extreme cases. If such a right were given to all, then it would be no protection whatever, that even the very large majority of those on whom that right should be conferred, should be, in every way, fitted so to be employed. For precisely those might insist upon the right, who were yet, on moral and religious grounds, very unfit to be entrusted with the education of young men. A person might possess talents or knowledge, which might qualify him to lecture, and yet e. g. through coarseness of mind, irreligious, or profane, or other habits, cupidity, or the like, be utterly disqualified from presiding over the education of youth. Yet such persons are specially insensible to their own disqualifications. Any one who has had anything to do with appointments, where there is, by custom, a claim to be appointed

to any office, *if fit*, knows how hard it is to *prove* any thing against persons, of whose unfitness no one would have any moral doubt. Regulations and provisions as to the "qualifications of individuals so to be admitted," reach only to extreme and *very* proveable cases. It is a true principle of justice, that an inchoate right can only be dealt with as in a Court of law ; else a door might be opened to private partialities and prejudices. To refuse an inchoate right is to set a mark upon the person to whom it is refused. Even a very grave suspicion scarcely justifies a refusal, unless the suspicion be already of so grave and public a nature, that the refusal would involve no additional damage to the character. It would probably be better for the University to give no licence at all, than to give a licence which would *seem* to mean what it *cannot*. A licence ought to imply the approbation of the authority who gives it. The licence given to one who has a legal right to demand it, can only mean that the authority licensing cannot legally substantiate any ground for refusing it.

Schools are now opened, every where, without licence. They who open them being mostly Clergy, their Orders have been practically accounted their credentials. Formal credentials were never thought of. But then parents know that they must ascertain the qualifications for themselves. A licence which can be no real credential is worse than nothing. It is illusory.

The University already gives a licence to *lecture*.

This is, in principle, definite and intelligible. And although she has, through the insufficient preparation of those who come to her, been obliged unduly to lower her minimum of qualification, upon which she will confer a degree ; yet, as to knowledge, the Examination list is as good a test as the nature of the case admits of. What a person knows, that he can teach. The licence to teach is defective as to form ; yet on the *intellectual* side it is explained and regulated by the class-list. But to teach a given subject is not to educate. The limited licence which the degree in theory conveys, is not a precedent for the larger licence to undertake, at the most critical age, the moral training of those, upon whom, more than any others, the well-being of our Church and nation depends.

The educating body of the University ought to be chosen, not to choose themselves. *Now*, the Fellows of Colleges are elected ; and the election implies, as far as it can be ascertained, moral, as well as intellectual, qualifications. The Tutors, again, are *selected* out of the Fellows. It is right. Parents who entrust their sons to the University, have a right to expect that the University should not recommend those for the office, whom, as far as man can know, she has not ascertained to be qualified. This is now done through the Colleges. The theory is perfect. The Fellows ought to be the *élite* of the University ; the Tutors ought to be those of the Fellows best qualified for the office ; the Heads ought to be those of past or present

Fellows, best qualified for theirs. If anything, however, has been omitted heretofore, or if anything needs to be added, the solid reform is to repair whatever has been decayed, to enlarge on good foundations. The principle of self-selection failed extensively in Germany. Real self-selection and an unreal, although apparent, sanction by licence, would be so much the worse, by how much it pretended to be better.

But, in truth, this plan of licensed Halls is only self-elective at the beginning. After a while, the election to the Headship of a Hall, over which *any* M.A., if licensed, may preside, will lie in fact, as of old, with the Undergraduates themselves. They will choose the Head of their Hall, as they do their private tutors now. At first, an M.A. must in some way publish his intention of opening a Hall, and gather pupils into it. Whenever he is promoted to some office, and leaves it, the small body of Undergraduates whom he leaves in it will, of course, choose his successor. The appointment to the Headship of any body must come either from without or from within. From without, it now comes, in a very limited way, from the Chancellor; and this absolute limitation has probably operated as a check upon the very wish to found Halls. The nomination to the Headships of new Halls *might* be vested in a Board, or in trustees, or in Congregation, or in the Head of a College to which any Hall should be attached. But if the nomination is not in some way from without, it must be from within, i. e. from the Undergraduates

themselves: it cannot be otherwise. It was so of old^u, from the very necessity of the case. Whenever the vacancy occurs, the Undergraduate members of the Hall would have the choice, either to disperse to other Halls which would receive them, or to agree upon a Head for themselves. If they were intellectual and ambitious of distinction, they would choose an intellectual Head; if they were religious, they would choose for themselves a religious Head; if they were idle and lax, they would choose a Head as like to themselves as they could find, and who would be likely to give them as much licence as they could obtain. "They who make them are like unto them." There is plainly no alternative. The Undergraduates once collected together in a Hall would, if they remained united, have something to offer; a post of credit, if they were creditable; any how, a post of some profit. The better sort might perhaps obtain as Heads M.A.'s of a higher calibre and character, such as are our present private tutors. But no one could prevent the worst obtaining as *their* Head, the very worst, against whom there was no *proveable* ground to refuse a licence. The Commissioners rightly condemn the practice by which "Students^x dismissed from Colleges, either for neglect of study or offences against morals, are allowed (in the latter case after a year's interval) to migrate to a Hall." They say justly, "Such a Hall (there

^u "Whenever the office of Principal became vacant, a new Governor was chosen by the students themselves, and admitted by the Chancellor." Report, p. 129.

^x Report, p. 26.

is at present only one, we believe, that gives unlimited admission to those who have withdrawn from other Societies), is not merely a receptacle of the worst elements in the University—to be deprecated even if at a distance from Oxford—but it becomes a source of mischief to the University from the connection often kept up between these students and their former associates.” They quote the energetic language of Mr. Lake, “It may be desirable that there should be a *locus pœnitentiæ* among us for young men, whom the stricter Colleges cannot retain on account of faults, which are not of the worst kind; but it is surely a great evil that any College or Hall should have even the character of being a *locus licentiæ*.”

But now there is a check to such a system, in the appointment of the Heads. It is only necessary to appoint as Heads, those who would not think it right to fill their Halls with this class. There is now no such Hall in being. But if every M.A. who can obtain a licence should have a right to open a Hall, there would be nothing to prevent the existence of as many such Halls, as there may be Masters of Arts whom idle Undergraduates could find to take charge of them, or to neglect them. It is in vain to appeal to the general character of our Masters of Arts. God be thanked for what He has given and enlarge His gifts! Yet the question is not as to that large class who would *not* fall into such a plan; but as to those who *would*. The degree cannot be a test of moral character, further

than that he who obtains it, has not so acted as to be expelled. It is in vain to appeal to stringent regulations. Rules for German Bursæ were well and wisely framed. “*Quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*” One who is entrusted with Education ought to raise the young above themselves, to point upwards and lead the way. Undergraduates will benefit largely through the influence of such men, if placed over them; but those only would *choose* them, who themselves already wished to be like them. Who can imagine a body of lax, or extravagant, or thoughtless Undergraduates, choosing to themselves a Head who would reform them? Such a system perpetuates its evils, without even a dawn of a purer morning. Such Halls the Commissioners rightly deprecate “as receptacles of the worst elements in the University.” But, on this open system, such receptacles could not only be multiplied but perpetuated; they could not only breed a moral pestilence, but there would be nothing to disperse, or stay, or limit the principle of infection.

Both in France and Germany the Colleges were very superior to the Halls. The license in our own earlier Annals was different from what is to be expected now. Theirs were the crimes of a fierce and warlike time; our temptations are those of one over-refined and self-indulgent. But the principle, so far, is the same. Whatever the necessity of discipline be, it is an absurdity to entrust the choice of those who are to exercise it, to those towards whom it is to be exercised. They only would choose

aright, who did not need it. In the history of former days, we may see both the fact, *who* must be the electors to the Headship of such Halls, and the results. We need not buy our own experience. Only in those days, when authority was stronger, a Chancellor had much more power to refuse an unfit election by the Undergraduates, than any one could have now to reject any one, not *demonstrably* unfit.

We are often told of the 300 Halls⁷ and 30,000 Clerks or Scholars that in the latter part of the 13th century⁸ "lodged and studied in Oxford and the suburbs thereof" from all the countries of Europe. The list was swollen by the influx of Paris students, invited, A. 1229, as matter of State policy, by Henry III., to the number of 1000 or of "several thousands." French students, as a body, frequented the University, until they were expelled A. 1369. The 300 Halls were, for the most part, private houses of citizens, who, when once they had let them to students, could not reclaim them. But the system worked ill; and the students who so lived, were exposed above others to the special temptations of those days, as they now would be to the special dangers of these.

No one can look back with anything but sorrow on those times, in which a multitude of students, real or pretended⁹, were arrayed against the

⁷ Report, p. 129.

⁸ About the close of the reign of Henry III. and the beginning of that of Edw. I. In A. 1307, and again in 1431, Wood says, "there were now scarce half the number."

⁹ See above, p. 155: The burghers, in their account of the conflict

citizens of Oxford^b, or against one another^c; in which Irishmen or Scotchmen were at feud with the English, the Northern with the Southern or Western Students; in which Scholars, (on one occasion to the number of 3000^d;) were drawn up, "with their bows and arrows, swords and bucklers, slings and stones," against the Burghers; and the sound^e of the town bell at St. Martin's, or of "the little bell of St. Mary's," were the tocsins of the citizens or the students respectively to gather to arms^f; when the houses of Oxford-citizens were plundered by its students, as if it had been a captured city; and Churches, Altars, the Festival

of A. 1297, say, "the clerks caused to be brought into the town certain feigned and counterfeit clerks, whom they put in gowns, and both they and the true clerks, committing outrages, fled to their inns." Wood, i. 355.

^b A. 1228 (i. 203); A. 1232 (i. 214); A. 1235 (i. 219); A. 1236 (i. 220); A. 1240 (Matt. Par., p. 527); A. 1251 (i. 244); A. 1297, the great fray, (i. 349, sqq.); A. 1305 (i. 369); A. 1321 (i. 437); A. 1354 (i. 456.)

^c The Northern Scholars against those of Ireland, A. 1252 (Wood, i. 244); the Scotch, Welsh, Northern, and Southern, A. 1259 (Matt. Par., p. 981); the Southern and Welsh with the Northern Scholars, A. 1303 (Ib. i. 367); A. 1388 (i. 518); A. 1389 (i. 519, sqq.); the Northern against the Southern and Western, A. 1314 (i. 384); the Northern and Western again, A. 1314, "a very furious fight, and a great many hurt thereby," (i. 385); the Northern and Southern, "very grievous," (i. 401); A. 1506 (i. 663); on the part of the Irish, A. 1402 (i. 359); the Welsh and Northern in Lent, 1389 (i. 519); the scholars of two halls, A. 1477 (i. 631); legists of divers halls and inns, A. 1502 (i. 659). These are intimated to be only notices of other habitual conflicts. In 1327 "a multitude of them were *said* to have joined in the assault of the abbey of Abingdon" (i. 414). There was another with Monks, A. 1377 (i. 490); with Card. Otho's attendants, A. 1238 (i. 223); with the Jews, A. 1244 (i. 233).

^d Ib. i. 355.

^e i. 350, 457, 8.

^f e. g. A. 1380. Ib. i. 497.

^g Ib. i. 351, 448.

of the Lord's Day have been defiled with blood ; "fighting"^h was of old *used* in the time of Lent ;" and Good Friday¹ once witnessed the termination of bloodshed between the Masters and Scholars, not for the memory or love of Him who died for us, but because "the victory fell to the scholars."

"At such times," says Wood, "public lectures ceased. And such a ceasing with us (as this was) is styled in our books, 'Cessatio propter metum et vim armatam.' Other cessations we have had for fear of the Pest ; some again, 'propter congregatam multitudinem ;' others, 'ratione interdicti ;' and some also because of strife with the Bishop of Lincoln, the Diocesan, as particularly that when our organs were suspended, an. 1284, and at other times ; but no cessation so terrible as that 'propter metum et vim armatam.' "

Discontents and feuds of Oxford were infectious and ill-omened. Even an English king^k knew and dreaded what had often been the herald of convulsions which shook the whole land.

^h Ib. i. 490. Matth. Paris speaking of Cambridge, A. 1249, includes also foreign Universities : "About the same time, i. e. in Lent, on some slight occasion, there arose a dissension at Cambridge between burghers and scholars. Wherefrom followed disputes and fighting, spoliations and breaking into houses, wounds and homicides. I think this too worthy recording, that at the instigation of the enemy of the human race, a cruel discord is raised, *according to custom, in Lent*, between scholars and laics, both in England and beyond seas, (as has often been recorded in this volume,) so that, in one, the sacred season should be violated, and persons suffer violence." p. 764.

¹ A. 1347 (i. 442.)

^k Edward III. Ibid., p. 438.

Chronica¹ si penses, cum pugnant Oxonienses
Post paucos menses, volat ira per Angligenenses.

"Mark the Chronicles aright,
When Oxford Scholars fall to fight,
Before many months expired
England will with war be fired."

And, worse yet, Wood says, "Such an innate hatred was engendered among them, that it was become natural, and is to this day so, as being transmitted from father to son and from man to man."

I do not mean to speak of these things as the characteristics of the University in those times. Oxford too brought forth good fruit to God, and was thought to be "the second school of the Church"² among the Universities of Europe. But as in Paris and Ingolstadt, so in Oxford, the most lawless members were those who belonged neither to College nor Hall. Her best sons were the members of her Colleges. The system of lodging at large, in the town, was extirpated as a pest. The system of Halls, whose undergraduate members elected their own Heads, died out.

"Regulations", we are told, "were made for this class of students, who lived independently in hired rooms, as late as the year 1512." The "regulations" were, "under pain of banishment, to remove within the eight days next ensuing to *their* Colleges or Halls where there are Commons." This "class

¹ R. Talbot Aurum ex Stercore in Wood, i. 258 and 438.

² i. 414.

³ Matt. Paris, A. 1257, p. 945.

⁴ Report, l. c.

of students," "called Chamberdekyngs," Wood elsewhere^p describes, as "no other it seems than Irish beggars, who in the habit of poor scholars would often disturb the peace of the University, live under no government of Principals, keep up for the most part in the day, and in the night time go abroad to commit spoils and manslaughter, lurk about taverns and houses of ill report, commit burglaries, and such like."

This was the worst class of students and the most liable to give occasion to feuds. "In 1512," says Wood^q, "there was a decree, or rather a command, against citizens who received scholars to board in their houses." The ground assigned is the turbulence of the times. "You must know," it is said, "that these times have been very turbulent and perilous; on which ground such diligent care was taken to recall Scholars, especially the poor, within Colleges and Halls. Of which a very strong proof is afforded by the guarantee given by those Scholars who lodged with the town's-people that they would keep the peace of the University. On giving which pledge they were allowed to lodge there undisturbed; of which there are very frequent instances in our Registers."

Yet the Colleges did not displace the Halls. But, as in the civil wars of France, the University of Paris owed her continued existence to her Colleges,

^p i. 556, 7. They were banished by Act of Parliament, 1 Hen. V. (Ib. note) add A. 1422. Ib. 567, A. 1402 (539).

^q Ann. ii. 4.

so also Oxford, amid the various causes which dispersed the students of the Halls. It is true, that the decrease of the University was contemporaneous with the increase of the Colleges; but for the Colleges, it would have been far greater. "After the University increased in Colleges," said R. Ullerston^{*} A. 1401, "it suffered no small diminution as to numbers; but as we see with our very eyes, Theology and Philosophy, as to the seculars, would long since have failed in this University of Oxford, unless these poor Colleges had meanwhile, through a gracious inspiration, been founded."

Internal Feuds, and the frequent pestilences, repeatedly desolated the University.

In 1356 "All^a scholars besides those of the Colleges fled away (nay, and those also except of Merton College, as a certain author reports) and left the University empty and desolate."

Among four grounds of decay mentioned by Wood, A. 1401, one is, "The^t several discontents of the Nation and the continual discords that the University was involved in, by which many scholars were given up to idleness, frivolous vanities, wandering up and down, various insolencies, &c. . . . All which, with several pestilences that have happened, as I have before told you, causing a decay in learning and scarcity of scholars, by whom the Church of Christ is governed and supplied, were *the chief reasons why several Colleges in the University were*

^{*} Defensorium, (M.S.) ap. Wood, i. 373.

^{*} Ib. i. 469.

^t Ib. i. 537.

founded, (particularly New College, as the Founder thereof intimates to us in the Foundation Charter of that House,) . . . *why so many Halls and Schools laid void* (especially in the reign of K. Rich. II.) as it appears in the rent-rolls of certain Religious Houses to whom they did belong.”

When students absented themselves or departed, the Halls which were but private dwelling houses, reverted to their^r former owners. In 1354, after two years’ pestilence, there not being one-fourth of the former students, “the^r Halls that before were replenished by Scholars, were now for the most part inhabited by Townsmen.” A. 1369 the whole body of Paris Students were required to quit the kingdom. “Since 1422,” Wood says, “Oxford’^r, styled by Balæus, ‘Gymnasium Hibernorum,’ hath little been frequented by Irishmen, because chiefly they were excluded the Principality of Halls or Inns, or government or tutelage in the University. And therefore I suppose that those Halls that belonged to Scholars of that nation (for there were many such) decayed and went quite to ruin, as the street called Irishman’s-street had done before.”

The few Halls which survived, were *preserved* by the Colleges.

“Of the great number of Halls and Hostles,” says Wood^r, “that have been in this University, are now but these following remaining, that are inhabited by Scholars under the government of Principals. . . . all which, except the last, have anciently been

^r Ib. i. 453.

^r Ib. i. 568.

^r iii. 652.

no other at first than tenements, belonging to lay-people, who, demising them to Scholars, have since been inhabited by them. And certainly, had not the said Halls come into the hands of the Colleges, before mentioned, (the Fellows of which did for the most part successively preside in them,) they would have decayed as other Halls did in the reign of Henry VII. and VIII."

The moral condition of our Colleges at the beginning of the sixteenth century is strongly attested by Erasmus, as recorded by Abp. Parker.

"This realm of England, says Parker^a, hath two Universities, Cambridge and Oxford; and the manner is not to live in these as within houses that be inns, or a receipt for common guests, as is the custom of some Universities; but they live in Colleges, under most grave and severe disciplin; even such as the famous learned man Erasmus of Roterodame, being here amongst us about forty years past, was bold to preferre before the very rules of the monks."

But at that time also, the instruction was chiefly within the Colleges. The office of the Professors was chiefly to rule the disputations and school exercises.

"Every^b one of the Colleges have their Professors of the Tongues, and of the Liberal Sciences, (as they call them,) which do train up youth privately within their Halls, to the end they may afterward be able to go forth thence into the Common Schools

^a App. to his Life, No. 32, p. 61.

^b Ib., p. 62,

as to open disputation, as it were into plain battles there to try themselves. In the Common Schools of both the Universities there are found at the King's charge, and that very largely, five Professors and Readers. . . . And for the other Professors ; as of Philosophy, of Logic, of Rhetorick, and of the Mathematics, the Universities themselves do allow stipends unto them. And these Professors have the ruling of the disputations and other school exercises, which be daily used in the Common Schools. Amongst whom, they that by the same disputations and exercises are thought to be come to any ripeness in knowledge, are wont, according to the use in other Universities, solemnly to take Degrees, every one in the same Science and Faculty which he professeth."

Card. Pole had complained of the neglect of the Professors' lectures[°] in the time of Queen Mary; Leicester, under Elizabeth, continued the complaint, while he says, " the private of Colleges and Halls I meddle not with, nor hear much evil of them."

In 1607, Isaac Wake speaks of a system existing much like our present, and prefers it to that of foreign Universities. " If strangers^d from foreign countries should give it as their opinion, that the places of our public lectures have not the embellishment of a large concourse of students, and that, in this particular, they are surpassed by the attendance

[°] See in Cardwell's *Synodalia*, ii. 458, 9.

^d Rex Platonicus, quoted with the preceding, *Brit. Critic*, No. 44, p. 426.

given at other Universities, let it be their good pleasure to hear the reply to their observation: the thing, so far from being any discredit to the University, forms a part of that glory in which she is *known to surpass* other academic institutions for *in foreign countries, students for the most part depend upon the public Professors for their knowledge*; but with us, *there are as many Universities as Colleges, and students are detained within their College walls, taking instruction from their tutors in private, and with much greater advantage to themselves than any they could derive from public readings.* We are therefore very ready to bear the rebuke, that our public readers are but poorly attended; our youth, during those hours, are engaged in still *more profitable pursuits.*"

Professor Vaughan contrasts the two most unfavorable statements made to the Commissioners as to the moral state of young men at Oxford, statements which I am sure, leave a most exaggerated impression of evils here, with the favorable reports of "two^e gentlemen educated in German Universities." He does not say in which. But German Universities differ very much from one another. On this authority he says of Germany: "Sexual immorality is not common among the students of any class; among the theological students almost unknown." May it be so! To judge from my own experience, and that of others, it has been very easy to pass through an University course at Oxford.

^e p. 94, note.

without knowing of any such sins, or suspecting their commission. On the other hand, some of the German Universities were purposely, I believe, placed in small towns, in order to exempt the students from temptation. Frederick II. doubted, on this very ground, about placing an University at Berlin. In small towns, I should imagine, often "*vitiositati deest occasio.*" But to judge from what was apparent as to the Göttingen* students, 1825, the fewness of those who attended any public worship, the unbounded quarrelsomeness, the brawls by night, the duels, in which students of theology, and some even who had begun to practise in preaching, were involved, it could not be thought that, whatever they were withheld from, they were withheld by principle.

Yet were it ever so strangely true that Oxford, with all its religious worship, and belief, and protection, and discipline, was inferior in morality to German Universities, where few worshipped, and few believed; were it ever so miserably true that "*fulness of bread*" exposed some of our wealthier undergraduates to temptations from which German poverty were free; still what a reason were this for laying those students open to temptations from which they are now happily protected! It is certain that our students here, if they do fall, must seek

* Heidelberg was at that time worse than Göttingen; Bonn, which is a mixed University, partly Roman Catholic, partly Protestant, was one of the best in Germany. To Berlin, the more earnest of the Theological Students were, in 1827, attracted by Neander. The police and size of a capital in itself prevented the scenes which took place in Göttingen. Germans evidently *then* thought our Universities *morally* superior to their own,

out for themselves temptations, which lie in wait for, and meet those of Cambridge. The remedy against sin of any sort lies, of course, deeper than human discipline or human protection. Yet we need not expose to all perils those committed to our care by God, because we cannot rescue them from all ; we need not break down all fences, because no fence will keep in those who *will* to stray.

Professor Vaughan's summary is : "The' true moral to be gathered from the past and the present of all Universities, German and English, is this,—It is not easy by mechanical artifices, by the rigour of statutes, exclusive studies, and a jealous and timid system of instruction, to raise the Students of Universities above the moral condition of the age or society in which they live ; and it is not difficult, through causes incidental to these intended safeguards, to depress them below the general level of intellectual cultivation in Europe."

And does Professor Vaughan then indeed mean, that those educated in the English Universities, are "below the general level of intellectual cultivation in Europe?" It is not the character of the English people to produce *books*, unless occasion call them forth. We are an acting, not a writing, people. The atmosphere of the English mind is practical, not abstract. We engage in abstract studies, not mostly for their own sake, but for their benefit to mankind. An Englishman does not ordinarily think of producing any intellectual work, unless he feels

that he has something to communicate which others do not know; or unless there be in the circumstances around him some stimulus, which impels him to investigate some subject more deeply than others, or unless Almighty God, through the operations of His Providence, or the working of His Spirit impel him to break through that reserve, which is almost part of his nature. Those who have had any occasion to attempt to induce others to work towards some common end through writing, have experienced this. "I cannot produce anything better than others," is often the reply of those, who doubtless, but for this English temperament, might have occupied a valuable place in literature. I have noticed formerly, how almost all our English theology is "occasional." Some "occasion" in God's Providence gave the direction to the minds of our writers, and called out their energies in that particular direction.

But the "floating capital," if one may so call it, of our English intellect, the general amount of our English information, the discipline of mind which is the intellectual object of University education, are, I believe, of a higher order than that of Germany. Events call them out into distinct action. The distinguished French Generals, who acted under Bonaparte, were all, I have understood, educated in the "Polytechnic schools." The wars of Bonaparte called out and gave the direction to the intellectual talents, formed by the mathematical training of those schools. But for that occasion, those

talents would have probably found some other scope, in a quieter, unobserved way. So also, there is a mass of well-educated intellect, the produce of our Universities, of which we feel the influence everywhere, in men who are not authors, and who leave no written memorial behind them, but whom the University training has qualified to serve God in Church and State, in that state of life and occupation to which it has pleased God to call them.

The political side I will present in the words of a thoughtful layman ;

“ It must not be forgotten that England asks of the two Universities something more important than the illustration of Greek or Roman writers, since to them she entrusts the training of her statesmen in successive generations. To this subject also surely applies the text, ‘ By their fruits ye shall know them.’ But to boast would be unbefitting. It may be enough to say, that within living memory, England has received from Oxford, Lord Grenville, Mr. Canning, Sir Robert Peel, Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone, men and ministers of no narrow views towards their fellow-subjects, and that the conduct of the English Government so composed, has for sixty years towards the powers of Europe been generous, frank, above all firm and consistent. Will the Universities we are now taught to imitate stand the same test ? What has been the statesmanship of Northern Germany during that period ? It is painful to

recollect how a gallant nation was led by the feebleness of their rulers to abandon the cause of Europe at the outset of the long war, to withhold their aid until too late for other Germans and for themselves during the heat of that war, to refuse it once more after the disasters of Jena. In their Universities undoubtedly was kindled the spirit, which retrieved twenty years of selfish vacillation, at Waterloo. But impulse cannot permanently govern a man, nor excitement a nation. With peace returned once more the debility of Prussian statesmen. And now again, when peace can only be restored by unanimous firmness in the friends of peace, it seems doubtful whether those statesmen, remembering the bitter lesson learnt by their fathers, can sustain with steadfast counsels, an irresolute king. If then it be the duty of Universities to train the mighty of the land through mental and moral discipline, I see no good reason why Oxford and Cambridge should throw aside their sober methodical lore for the unchastened speculations of Jena or Berlin. If those Universities are fertile in books, we by God's blessing at any rate bring forth men."

To myself, some have thought it enough to answer, that I have looked upon the question "in a Theological aspect^s." Undoubtedly. God alone is

^s Professor Vaughan says that the [physical] sciences "are disliked by the jealous teachers of other branches of knowledge, and feared by many, either anxious to preserve the whole body of accepted traditions on all subjects, or fearful lest knowledge unknown to ancient times should shake the absolute authority or the traditional interpretation of ancient

in Himself, and is the Cause and Upholder of every thing to which He has given being. Every faculty of the mind is some reflection of His ; every truth has its being from Him ; every law of nature has the impress of His hand ; everything beautiful has caught its light from His Eternal Beauty ; every principle of goodness has its foundation in His attributes. He, by nature, is above all, through all, in all, by His Being ; as He is in His own, by His Grace. He is the Author of all, the End of all, and of our own being individually. Without Him, in the region of thought, everything is dead ; as without Him everything which is, would at once cease to be. All things must speak of God, refer to God, or they are atheistic. History, without God, is a chaos without design, or end, or aim ; Political Economy without God would be a selfish teaching about the acquisition of wealth, making the larger portion of mankind animate machines for its production ; Physics, without God, would be but a

writings. "Ancient writings" is a strange title for "God's word." I hope that Prof. Vaughan means, that the persons of whom he thus speaks, are wrongly anxious, if they think that "the *absolute* authority" of God's word *can* be shaken by any discoveries in physical sciences. "Traditional interpretation" is quite another matter. It was a mistake when words of Holy Scripture were urged as against the Newtonian theory. We still use the words, "the sun rises, the sun sets," as before. But the "absolute authority of God's word" is certain ; any deductions as to natural history or geology must be uncertain, since we know not what the act of creation is. *Natural* interpretations of God's word, required by "physical sciences," no reasonable person would question or fear. He would only fear *unnatural* explanations, invented in order to adapt Holy Scripture to unauthenticated theories, whether in physics, ethnology, history, or chronology.

dull enquiry into certain meaningless phenomena ; Ethics, without God, would be a varying rule, without principle, or substance, or centre, or regulating hand ; Metaphysics, without God, would make man his own temporary god, to be resolved, after his brief hour here, into the nothingness out of which he proceeded. All sciences may do good service, if those who cultivate them know their place, and carry them not beyond their sphere ; all may, in different degrees, tend to cultivate the human mind, although no one human mind has time or capacity for all. But all will become antagonistic to truth, if they are deified by their votaries ; all will tend to exclude the thought of God, if they are not cultivated with reference to Him. History will become an account of man's passions and brute strength, instead of the ordering of God's providence for His creatures' good ; Physics will materialize man, and Metaphysics God.

But since God is the Author, and Measure, and Compass of all Truth, as well as of all our being, then, without true belief in God, we shall not understand aright any other truth. There will always be some hitch somewhere. The right belief in God ordereth all things ; error in that belief brings in confusion, in proportion to its magnitude ; when that belief is not sovereign, all knowledge will be in an universal anarchy : each disputing with its neighbours, each intruding into the province of its neighbours ; all out of harmony, because not ordered by Him who alone ordereth all things well.

Even the intellect cannot be cultivated aright, unless it be subdued to God, and its whole cultivation be in reference to Him. The intellect cannot rightly apprehend the things of the intellect, unless it be itself conformed to that which the very heathen knew of as mind (*νοῦς*)—the Mind of God. The very heathen knew, that one whose passions were undisciplined, was no fit student of Morals. But the object of an University is not simply or mainly to cultivate the intellect. Intellect, by itself, heightened, sharpened, refined, cool, piercing, subtle, would be after the likeness, not of God, but of His enemy, who is acuter and subtler far, than the acutest and the subtlest. The object of Universities is, with and through the discipline of the intellect, as far as may be, to discipline and train the whole moral and intelligent being. The problem and special work of an University is, not how to advance science, not how to make discoveries, not to form new schools of mental philosophy, nor to invent new modes of analysis; not to produce works in Medicine, Jurisprudence, or even Theology; but to form minds religiously, morally, intellectually, which shall discharge aright whatever duties God, in His providence, shall appoint to them. Acute and subtle intellects, even though well-disciplined, are not needed for most offices in the body politic. Acute and subtle intellects, if undisciplined, are destructive both to themselves and to it, in proportion to their very powers. The type of the best English intellectual character is sound, solid, steady, thoughtful, patient,

well-disciplined judgment. It would be a perversion of our institutions to turn the University into a forcing-house for intellect.

What we need is to strengthen our institutions, not to revolutionize them ; to replace anything decayed, not to build anew ; to reform anything amiss, not to re-model them. Sudden changes are for His Hands Alone, Who can re-create, as He created, very good ; who can sustain the mind which He remoulds, or bear His own Ark over the floods which He creates. But in man's hand, who can forecast but a little way, and can control the workings of no change which he has himself produced, gentle measures, and gentle changes, are the humblest and the safest. A sudden and extensive change has mostly evil in it, even because it is sudden and extensive. All the ordinary transitions of God's Providence, in nature or in man's history, are gentle and equable. Day passes gently into night, and night opens tranquilly into day. Summer declines slowly into winter : spring softly displaces it, and itself kindles unperceived into summer. When God introduces sudden shocks, as in the tempest or the scourge of war, the suddenness of the visitation is part of His design. Else He prepares gently what He brings about. He did not come Himself among us, until, besides all more immediate preparations, there had been the long preparatory discipline of 4000 years. Even then, " His messenger prepared the way before Him."

Oxford has for the last fifty years, been gradu-

ally renovated by His Hand, and by His Spirit. There has been a steady course of improvement. God's ordinary Providence then ; His very Providence with us ; our, however imperfect, correspondence with His calls ; and the blessing which He has already given to our partial obedience and renewed earnestness,—all point in one way, not to try anew plans which in the past have failed, not to introduce sudden and revolutionary changes, not to make experiments on those most precious talents committed to us by God, the human intellect and the human soul, but “to strengthen that which remains,” to build on, as we have built already, enlarging, strengthening, expanding, deepening our work, yet still building in that same way which God hath hitherto blessed, in proportion to our earnestness, and whereby He has formed men to serve Him for every office which He had in store for them.

Deo Gratias.

